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ABSTRACT

This paper presents findings of a comparative case study that explored the inner realities of four successful high school principals identified as effective. Case studies were conducted of four high school principals in a North Carolina school district. Data were obtained from 2 interviews with each principal and interviews with 10 teachers in each school. Because each of their tenures began in perceived out-of-control schools, these principals' sense of mission was interpreted as providing them with the conviction and resiliency both to survive and to apply management strategies. As Brown and Burke conceptualized their visions for the future, they shifted their thinking, resulting in actions that gained more influence. Lee and Jackson's sense-making remained grounded in their original missions; their subsequent actions appeared to be minimally affected by visions. Social norms identified and validated by teachers were also used to determine how these principals' inner realities were reflected in their relationships with teachers. Brown and Burke emerged as transformational leaders who formed value-driven relationships with teachers empowered by mutual commitment. Lee remained at the transactional stage. Jackson, because his student-advocacy-oriented mission conflicted with traditional principal-teacher norms, appeared caught between transactional and transformational work orientations. Five tables and one figure are included. Appendices contain student achievement data, teacher perceptions of principals' school improvements, and contextual data for the four principal's realities. (Contains 37 references.) (LMI)

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Studying Principal Inner Realities and Their Practice:
Building the EA Knowledge Base

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Paper presented at the annual meeting of the
American Educational Research Association
April 12-16, 1993, Atlanta

RUNNING HEAD: Principal Inner Realities and Their Practice

EA 025 181

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Abstract

The investigator used a comparative case study to explore the inner realities of four successful high school principals: as they balanced their beliefs (represented by mission and vision) with workplace contexts, how were these principals influenced to take certain actions? Because their tenures all began in perceived out-of-control schools, these principals' sense of mission was interpreted as providing them with the conviction and resiliency both to survive and to apply management strategies (unilateral, controlling actions). As Brown and Burke conceptualized their visions, they shifted their thinking, and their actions taken became more influence-gaining. Lee and Jackson's sense-making remained grounded in their missions; their actions taken appeared affected minimally by visions. Social norms identified and validated by teachers also were used to determine how these principals' inner realities were reflected in their relationships with teachers. Brown and Burke emerged as transformational leaders forming value-driven relationships with teachers empowered by mutual commitment. Lee remained at the transactional (structural functionalist) stage. Jackson, because his student advocacy-oriented mission conflicted with traditional principal-teacher norms, appeared caught between transactional and transformational work orientations.

Studying Principal Inner Realities and Their Practice: Building the EA Knowledge Base[1]

> Leadership as social action ... suggests that what an actor does is intentional, emphasizes the subjective meanings attached to situations by the individual actor, and requires that behavior be examined within the context of the actor's culturally defined situation and network of social realtionships....The actor's definition of a situation is a reflection of the situation's perceived characteristics and a reflection of the actor's intentions defined a priori by values and beliefs. (Sergiovanni, 1992, p. 307)

Sergiovanni provides a challenging perspective in viewing principal leadership as actions as based on mindscapes, i.e., personal constructions of realities consisting of sacred values, cultural norm systems, and the power of language in shaping reality and theories of practice. Administrative actions (what principals do), according to this subjectivist perspective, cannot be reduced to impersonal, standardized behaviors comprising prescriptions for effective practice: Effective leaders do not make decisions in ideological vacuums. The actions taken of effective leaders are conscious decisions grounded in their "inner realities". As Foster (1986, p. 15) observes, leadership lies not in the position *given,* but in the position *taken*, and what administrators choose to do (original emphases).

In this paper I use a research study of four successful principals[1] to explore this concept of inner realities in two ways. First, I identify the inner realities of these principals and their actions taken: How were they influenced to do the things they did? Second, I examine social norms identified and verified by the teachers in the four schools studied to determine how (if at all) these principals' inner realities are reflected in their relationships with teachers.

Suggestions based on the study findings then are made for the improvement of principal preparation programs. Before reporting on the data I provide the theoretic framework, study assumptions, and methodology.

Theoretic Framework and Study Assumptions

Framework for Inner Realities.

Three terms were used to operationalize the concept of inner realities: mission, vision, and sense-making by principals. Mission and vision were chosen to represent principl beliefs defined as complementary terms: mission as the influence of the past upon the present, i.e., a principal's convictions held when entering a position; vision as a futuristic-orientation and the result of assessing the present. As principals balance their belief systems with perceived workplace demands, their sense-making results in intentions and motives for their actions taken. Actions taken (the practice of administration) are grounded in belief systems and do not exist in ideological vacuums; nor can they be separated from context.

Mission. A sense of mission incorporates biographical influence and experience, and results in a personal zeal, a driving force affecting one's intentions upon beginning a new position. Barber (cited in Gronn, 1984, p. 124) analyzed presidential personalities and concluded that the best way to predict a President's character, world view, and style was to see how they were put together in the first place, what happened early in life, what culminated in political success. Examples of biographical influence abound in Blumberg and Greenfield's work (1986). "George" identified experiences with his principal, from whom he learned that administration was an intellectual process of understanding the nature of the school and the dynamic interaction between teachers and students (p. 27). "Joan" learned as a teacher the importance of personal growth and change, and she became driven by a sense that administrators, teachers, and students all would have to change and become thinkers and problem solvers. Gronn (cited by Foster, 1986) contends that an administrator's history provides a context for understanding the intentions and meanings that occur. Block (1987) defines mission as the current ultimate purposes of schooling.

Mission ("This is what I want to do right now in my life") can be used to define job expectations, and represents accumulative bundles of biographical and job experiences. Presumably, a principal is most influenced by the most recent job experiences. For instance, a principal with a recent successful experience in instructional innovation will have a different mission than a principal who lost control of his/her faculty and was forced to seek another position during the school year.

Vision. Vision, conversely, has a *futuristic*-orientation as an end-product of assessing the present. Licata, Greenfield, and Teddlie (1989, p. 3), for instance, define vision as "the capacity to see the discrepancy between how things are and how they might be and the need to compel others to act on these imagined possibilities." Bennis & Nanus (1985) discuss vision as a leader's ability to force a better future for an organization; visionary leaders are perpetual learners who are "...stretching, growing and breaking *new* ground" (p. 188, italic added). Manasse (1983, p. 28) claims that "Like high-performing leaders in the private sector, principals of successful schools have a vision of what their schools should be and of their roles in achieving it."

Vision also has an interactive quality and cannot exist in a vacuum nor be imposed unilaterally by principals. Commonly held vision helps individual members tie their actions into larger, organizational actions. For Conley, Dunlap, & Goldman (1991), vision acts as an internal compass to help people understand more clearly about how their actions relate to broader, organizational goals. Licata, Greenfield, and Teddlie (1989), as noted above, refer to the need to compel others to act on a communicated sense of vision. Greenfield, Licata, and Johnson (cited in Johnson, 1992) have developed an instrument to measure a principal's ability in persuading others to accept and share a vision, to exchange ideas about visions, and to motivate others to act on visions. Principals ultimately are only successful as visionary leaders to the extent that they can sell and share visions with others.

Sense-Making. As principals struggle to devise possibilities, or bases, for their actions, they are consciously or unconsciously matching up their beliefs with their workplace environments. Sense-making comprises "an inner process that engages the deepest aspects of self...with all of its wishes, conflicts, defenses, aspirations..." (Gronn, 1984, p. 123 citing Hodgson, Levinson, & Zaleznik).

The motives and intentions of principals cannot be reduced to stimulus-response theory. Principals are not puppets whose strings are pulled endlessly by central office administrators, parents, teachers, students. Much to the contrary, principals make choices (not always consciously but choices they indeed are), when, for instance, they choose how they spend their time and how they will convey the meanings of their actions to others.

Sense-making of one's environment cannot be separated from workplace context anymore than administrative actions can be reduced to impersonal, standardized behaviors comprising prescriptions for effective practice. (For the crucial importance of workplace context, see Clift, Johnson, Holland, & Veal, 1992; and McLaughlin, Talbert, & Bascia, 1990). Gronn (1984) highlights the crucial importance of context when he discussed the extent to which role incumbents *shape*, and in turn are reciprocally *shaped* by, the circumstances in which they find themselves (original emphases). Sense-making does not exist in ideological vacuums but is grounded in belief systems as principals make sense of their environments and make choices.

Examining Principal Inner Realities and Principal Relationships with Teachers

Since inner realities are constructed socially within an institutional context, successful principals interact with school personnel both to establish common understandings about what they do and to control and manage their environments (Gronn, 1983). They cannot learn about the subtle but crucial inner workings of their schools by sitting in their offices and completing paperwork. Far from knee-jerk responses to objectively identified stimuli, leadership actions are intentional and must be examined within context of culturally defined situations and web of social relationships (Sergiovanni, 1992, p. 307).

Since knowledge is constructed socially through interaction, principal inner realities are of little consequence unless they are "accepted" and acted upon by their teachers and become part of the social fabric of school cultures. Social norms[2] *identified and verified by the teachers* are used to describe how principals develop and share their inner realities with teachers. "[This] inner reality influences the regular ways that people do things and shape the underlying norms, values, and beliefs of schools. It is called the school's culture" (Deal & Peterson, 1992, p. 1).

Assumptions Made in This Paper

The researcher makes three assumptions: 1) How leaders construct reality is a key to leadership effectiveness. Principal interpretations of reality "program" their actions as they interact with staff, parents, students, etc. Hypothetically, two principals could make substantially different decisions in the same school because they perceive reality differently; 2) Sense-making (intentions and motives for actions taken) is a cognitive process as principals balance their belief systems with perceived workplace demands. Actions taken do not exist in ideological vacuums, nor can they be separated from context; and 3) Because knowledge is constructed socially through interaction, the researcher assumed that approximations of principals' inner realities should be embedded in their relationships with their teachers and identifiable through social norms.

Limitation in This Study

The investigator used the perspectives of principals as the study focus. Principals were interviewed for their personal missions and visions, instead of acting on the assumption that meaning making was initiated from the "bottom-up," i.e., from the teachers.

Contextually, much of heroic leadership might have been necessary. These four principals all began their tenures in schools with notable student behavioral problems (confirmed by some norms and teacher study participants) and lower-than-expected student outcomes. Principals perceived that they needed to use considerable unilateral decision making both to survive and to gain control of the schools.[3]

Study Methodology

Education administration professors, state education agency directors, and superintendents throughout this southeastern state nominated principals who had turned their high schools around during their tenures and also had made substantial contributions to improving student outcomes, e.g., achievement, reduced dropout rates, college acceptance rates. From this "pool" four principals (anonymously called Brown, Lee, Burke, and Jackson) were selected. (The improved student outcomes of these principals' high schools are contained in Appendix A.)

Each principal's **mission** and **vision** were collected through two open-ended and conversational interviews (Patton, 1990). Their intentions and actions taken were collected in three subsequent interviews. During these interviews the researcher constantly probed the research participants for the contexts within which key intentions and events occurred. Data as field notes then were audio-taped and transcribed for thematic analysis.

Ten teachers, chosen by their principals[4] for their articulation, objectivity, and differing perspectives, were interviewed in each school and asked these open-ended questions:

1) "How has this school improved?"

2) "How has your principal been involved in this improvement?"

3) "Can you describe a specific example of how s/he went

about contributing to the implementation of this improvement?"

4) For this protocol, steps (b) through (d) were repeated until the interviewee could no longer specify school improvement efforts contributed by the principal.

5) Each teacher was asked to identify norms describing their relationships with their principals.

Substantive categories were constructed inductively by common characteristics (Spradley, 1979). Inter-rater agreement on categorization generated by a panel of experts--four EA professors--was $\geq .80$. The teacher categories are included as tables in Appendix B as supportive data to the principals' perceptions of their actions taken. (Generally, there was a reasonably good fit between principals' and teachers' perceptions, with the greatest difference occurring in Jackson's case.)

School-based social norms collected during teacher interviews were critiqued by ad hoc committees of interviewed teachers for their validity: Did these norms reflect the school improvement expectations between each principal and teachers? These ad hoc committees also culled any phrases potentially distracting to teacher respondents from this list. These norms were compiled on a norm checklist and all teachers were asked to complete these checklists. Teachers marked "yes" if they perceived that a norm was operating, regardless of whether they agreed (philosophically) with that norm. They left norms blank only if they had a particular circumstance, such as being a new teacher to school, or physical isolation from the main school building. (A few teachers were located in separate buildings and occasionally lacked a vantage point to make judgments). Norms perceived as occurring by more than 70 per cent of the teachers (Foskett, 1967; Keedy, 1982) were interpreted as observed in that school. The four checklist return rates averaged 73%. Checklist alpha coefficients for internal consistency averaged .83.

As interpretive field investigation, principal inner beliefs, their actions taken, and school norm data were "triangulated" to find key linkages and generalizations among the data sources (Erickson, 1986). Data were analyzed thematically for case interpretation. The investigator developed themes, generated and scrutinized concurrently through constant comparative analysis (Plummer, 1983). Emerging themes were grounded in the data themselves (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Case findings also were analyzed across case and compared with current theory on the principalship (theoretic discussion).

Case Study Interpretations

Each case is introduced with the school setting information, followed by the case summary in which mission and vision is linked to actions taken and social norms are used to imply the extent to which the principals' inner realities were illustrated in principal-teacher relationships. For brevity, Appendixes contain the principals' self-reports on their missions, visions, and actions taken. The reader is encouraged to consult these Appendixes for the *contexts within which their sense-making were* *constructed.*

Principal Brown at Moore County High School (MCHS)

MCHS is located in a rural county 20 miles from Kenner, a major state university town, and has 34 teachers and an assistant principal with approximately 500 students (72% white and 28% black in 1989-90). Twenty-four percent of the students attend college and approximately sixteen to twenty percent of the graduates attended additional training schools. There are 28 full-time teachers and four part-time teachers at MCHS. The teacher turnover is small and caused largely by the relocation of spouses. Moore County is an attractive place to teach. The county was approximately 18 miles from Kenner, where most teachers enjoy the university-town atmosphere.

Students in this rural community are expected to obey teachers. Teachers generally can teach at MCHS and not spend half the class time disciplining their students. Because MCHS is close to a university town, many of the teachers were open to innovations and the university resources are accessible. The socioeconomic status has been changing in this county, and there are more professional people moving into the county with higher expectations for student achievement.

Case Summary. Brown had wanted to help shape a school and this mission grounded his unilateral decision making and actions taken (as an extension of his management at Lake City). Brown's mission (help shape a school) provided the inner strength and conviction to his intentions of getting MCHS under control. His vision, that teachers and administrators together should diagnose and prescribe school improvement practice through a shared governance structure (SGS), caused Brown to question his structural-functionalist assumptions and provided direction to another set of actions. Brown intended to share the power and to encourage his teachers gradually to learn the balance between freedom and responsibility. Teachers, through trial and error, had to understand how taking responsibility for decisions was often more difficult than making the decisions themselves. Brown became a successful change facilitator, both because of his sense of administrative timing, and because of the teacher/coach in him, as he diplomatically coached the teachers in understanding the repercussions of SDM.

Table 1 contains the norms identified by the MCHS teachers.

Insert Table 1 about here

The majority of the teacher-identified norms logically relate to SGS, since this structure changed how Brown and teachers related and how teacher related among themselves. Some norms define the process of teacher acceptance of the SDM structure. Norms 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 support Brown's vision: In the beginning there were few game players, but the dress code incident signaled to teachers that the shared decision-making structure indeed could work. Norms 11, 12 and 13 confirm that the process was working as more

Table 1

Norm Checklist for Moore County High School

n[a]	Y[b]	%[c]	N[d]		Description of Norm
34	34	100	00	1.	Instructional time is important and is protected here. To protect instructional time we do not have breaks in the morning or excessive time for changing classes, nor do we make excessive use of the public address system. It is more important for the students to be in class and the teachers to be teaching.
33	28	85	05	2.	Teachers know that they will be backed by the principal regarding problems with parents.
33	32	97	01	3.	Teachers are expected to teach the full 50 minutes. This expectation has been stressed in faculty meetings. In teacher observations the principal sometimes has the opportunity to show teachers where they could use their instructional time more wisely.
20	18	90	02	4.	In 1983-84 teachers were expected to be very conscientious of how they used instructional time in the classroom and to be task-oriented with the students. Principal Brown observed all teachers and, when appropriate, suggested ways for teachers to improve their use of instructional time.1)improvement projects (e.g., participation week-long "personal contact' workshop and an active colleague in Curriculum Task Force).
19	08	42	11	5.	Previous to 1983-84 there were not high expectations for student achievement and teachers were left to cope on their own in the classrooms.
33	31	94	02	6.	Principal Brown demonstrates a personal concern about the students in the school. He exhibits this concern by standing in the hallway on report card day as students come out, and asking some students to share their report cards. Principal Brown also exhibits this concern for his students by trying to learn the names of all of the students in the school.
34	27	79	07	7.	Students for the most part perceive that most decisions are (still) made by Principal Brown -- particularly regarding the new dress code. Students apparently are not aware that the shared-governance structure exists.
30	30	100	00	8.	In the Executive Council the one-person, one-vote really operates. (The principal is a member of the Executive Council and is the leader of a liaison group.) When the shared-governance structure first started, the teachers were not sure they could believe this change in governance (because Principal Brown had been rather unilateral in his decision-making during his first year.) But when the Executive Council voted 5-2 to adopt the new dress code as recommended by the Task Force, the principal accepted this decision, even though his was one of the two opposition votes.) This action signaled a change to the teachers because they now knew that Principal Brown would be a gameplayer in this new structure of decision-making.
19	17	89	02	9.	When shared decision-making was first implemented there were two groups of teachers: One group of five or six teachers were initially involved in shared-governance and were very supportive of the idea; they were amazed that Principal Brown could be part of shared-governance, when he had been perceived as autocratic (during the first year). The second group of teachers consisted of the majority of teachers who thought that this was just another administrative idea and they simply sat back and watched to see what would come of it.

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[a] Total number of respondents answering this item. [b] Number of respondents answering "yes". [c] Percentage of respondents answering "yes". [d] Number of respondents answering "no".

n^a	Y^b	%^{c}	N^d		Description of Norm
23	23	100	00	10	As more and more teachers began to see that things could change, and that the principal was true to his word and did not buck the new policy set up by the Executive Council on the student dress code, more teachers started to see that "I'd better put my two cents in or something that I do not like may work its way through the Executive Council."
32	31	97	01	11.	As more and more Task Forces are perceived as successful (e.g., Choice and Challenge and Student Dress Code), more teachers are becoming involved in Task Forces. Our school is becoming similar to an open market: A person volunteers to serve on a Task Force that he or she is interested in personally. (For instance, one teacher who had never served on a Task Force previously, volunteered for the Increasing Minority Students Entrance to College Task Force).
33	31	94	02	12.	Very often topics for liaison groups start with teacher lounge discussion. When someone becomes interested in a particular concern he or she will informally lobby other teachers who are representatives of each of the liaison groups to try to get enough groups to push the issue up to the Executive Council.
34	32	94	02	13.	With the involvement of teachers in the shared-governance structure, teachers feel they have real input into improving their school and shaping their work environment.
33	28	85	05	14.	There is built into the shared-governance structure enough opportunities for teacher input. Every teacher is a member of a liaison group. Liaison group members vote annually for liaison group leaders. Any teacher can volunteer to serve on a task force; membership is never restricted, "Therefore it is tough luck if what comes down (i.e., is passed by the Executive Council) you do not like. If you have not put your two cents in, (given the above opportunities) you have no right to complain."
33	21	64	12	15.	It is not mandatory that teachers be actively involved in the liaison groups, nor is it mandatory that teachers volunteer for a Task Force.
31	22	71	09	16.	Principal Brown expects and even encourages teachers from different liaison groups to lobby (or "politick") and gain enough support for liaison group leaders (on the Executive Council) to create a Task Force.
32	26	81	06	17.	With the acceptance of the shared-governance structure, the relationship between Principal Brown and the teachers changed. Teachers go to Principal Brown less for "backing" and more for advice. With more discretion to make decisions comes more responsibility for teachers to accept ramifications for more decisions.
31	26	84	05	18.	Principal Brown will continue to hire the best instructionally-qualified teachers, even though some teachers have asked him to screen out candidates on the basis of other criteria (e.g. those who smoke).
32	31	97	01	19.	Brown demonstates direct involvement in instructional improvement projects, e.g., participation in week-long personal contact workshop and active colleagueship in Curriculum Task Force.
25	22	88	03	20.	Currently there are mixed feelings about the shared-governance and task force system. There may always be those teachers who prefer the autocratic principal (i.e., teachers with a problem go to principal for his backing) because it is most efficient and they do not want to get involved in the decision-making. There is another group that is very happy with the current system because they have like having input and because they are now becoming major gameplayers in improving the school through task forces.

and more teachers realized they could reap benefits through participation in SDM. As norm 9 implies, SDM involved more and more teachers, and there was commensurate pressure on the remaining teachers to participate in the process. Otherwise, they would be left out of important decisions. Norm 14 expresses the social cost to teachers if they did not participate. These norms imply Brown's intention: As more teachers became involved in the SGS, teachers would accept more responsibilities for improving school-wide conditions. Norm 15 did not hit the cut-off. The teacher peer pressure for participation in the SDM may have been so strong that respondents questioned the term "mandatory."

Brown's current relationship with teachers appears characterized by mutual dependency. As SDM became accepted by more and more teachers, several teachers became key game players in negotiating workable non-smoking rules, designing at-risk curriculum, changing the dress code, and restructuring the school-community relationship. Brown had less administrative duties to perform and more opportunities for participatory instructional leadership. Brown became less of an arbiter and more an advisor, as teachers needed less administrative "backing" and more information helpful in shared decision making (#16 and #17). Brown became less a symbolic rule enforcer from the administrative fiat era manager, although he reserved his "right" to hire staff (supported by Norm 18), and more a collaborative problem solver within the SDM structure. Norms 19, 17, 10, and 20 support Brown's collegial relationship with the teachers.

Principal Lee at Wells High School (WHS)

WHS is located in the wealthy suburbs north of a large, southeastern city. WHS has 55 teachers, 2 assistant principals, and approximately 900 students. There have been four principals. The first principal had a 17 year tenure, the second a two-year tenure, and the third a four-year tenure.

At the time of this study, Lee was in his third year. His predecessor had been "kicked upstairs" to a directorship position. His superintendent, who viewed Lee (at the time of this study) as the first effective principal this school had seen, conveyed this message to Lee: "I want you to shake things up and get things under control. To make a name for yourself, you have to take on challenging jobs." (Even then Lee knew that he wanted to be a superintendent.)

When Lee arrived in 1987, most students were upper-middle class (affluent children of executives, business owners, other professionals). Between 92% and 96% of the students went on to some type of higher education. WHS, however, suffered from a lack of student discipline. There were communication gaps between the school and the community and within the school: Many community members, for example, viewed WHS students as unruly and the school as a drug haven. Departments lacked coordination among each other and with the administration. Each department was an island unto itself. There were no faculty meetings. The school was not maintained as a physical plant. Student achievement when compared to the early 1980s was low.

Case Summary. Lee's academically-oriented, student-oriented mission (based partly on the effective schools research) was grounded in his authoritarian, structural-functionalist belief system that had developed over several years. Similar to a corporate executive, Lee epitomized the phenomenon of "job fit" with WHS in his task orientation, decisiveness, and consistency for rules. His (largely) unilateral actions taken reflected a strong-willed administrator unafraid of being unpopular and making the hard decisions needed to gain control of the school even at the expense of some teacher animosity. By setting and enforcing student, teacher, and staff behavioral standards, WHS could once again achieve its high academic potential. (In Lee's second year his school had the highest California Achievement Test scores in the district).

Lee then had to market WHS to an upper-middle class community that had been sending many of their children to private schools because they had become disenchanted with WHS's reputation of a student-run school. Strategically, Lee spent considerable energy countering the "negative" image of WHS as a drug haven. Lee knew that accomplishing goals of improved communication and school-community relations could market his school to a constituency whose members preferred to save private school tuition expenses (his vision).

Lee remained structural-functional in his actions as he shifted from mission-based actions to vision-based actions. (He may have perceived that little change in management, e.g., teacher-shared decision making, was needed.) His instructional role remained that of monitor and not that of facilitator/leader. WHS already had the ingredients once again to become a top-flight public high school. His intentions merely shifted from controlling and monitoring students and teachers to marketing, i.e., convincing potential consumers that WHS had become a fine, public-prep school.[5]

Given his relatively short tenure at WHS, Lee's change to a more facilitative, teacher-empowered leadership actions is always possible. In 1989-90 Lee did set up a faculty liaison committee that consisted of one representative from each department and operated as a complaint session. The investigator and readers only can speculate on whether Lee's intentions and actions will become more facilitative and teacher-empowerment oriented.

How do the social norms provide some indication that his inner reality had been woven into relationships with WHS teachers? Norms 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 support Lee's belief that student discipline, instructional time, strict enforcement of rules were accepted by WHS's teachers. Norms 2, 8, 9, 10, 16, 12, and 13 demonstrate that communication among administrators, teachers, and students was clear, procedural, and efficient. Norms 14, 15, and 16 support his classroom evaluation and enforcer of minimum

Insert Table 2 about here

Table 2

Norm Checklist for Wells High School

n[a]	Y[b]	%[c]	N[d]		Description of Norm
29	21	72	08	1.	Unlike pre-1987 it is now possible to teach the full 55 minutes without student interruptions in the hallways.
30	29	97	01	2.	Unlike pre-1987 this high school is now an efficient, smoothly-running organization (discipline is tight, we now have set agendas for faculty meetings, meetings are scheduled in advance).
29	26	90	03	3.	It is now easier (than pre-1987) to discipline students (e.g., kissing in the halls) because we know we are backed by the front office.
31	29	94	02	4.	Teachers are responsible for enforcing the school rules (such as student discipline). If you don't enforce the rules Principal Lee wants to know why. Because he is very visible and spends time out in the school, he often is in the position to know whether rules are being enforced by the teachers or not.
32	31	97	01	5.	Academics have always been important here at this school, but over the last three years you are expected to teach a full 55 minutes; otherwise, 5 minutes off here and there can become 10 minutes and then the instructional time is gone.
31	22	71	09	6.	Student discipline has gone beyond being on time and eating in the corridors. It also includes students having a pencil, and coming into class prepared to work.
27	27	100	00	7.	Providing we are aware of and follow the procedure, teachers are backed with their disciplined students. Before this principal's tenure parental influence and pressure often could get exceptions for the student discipline policies.
31	21	68	10	8.	There is now efficient, effective communication among members of each department and between departments and the administration. (Each department is now not an island unto itself).
29	26	90	03	9.	Over the past three years the school climate has changed. Instead of getting different answers from different people there are now specific, consistent rules that we follow (such as student discipline).
31	30	97	01	10.	Student and faculty handbooks are not elaborate or detailed, but what is in there is expected to be enforced.

[a] Total number of respondents answering this item. [b]Number of respondents answering "yes". [c]Percentage of respondents answering "yes". [d]Number of respondents answering "no".

n^a	Y^b	$\%^c$	N^d		Description of Norm
31	29	94	02	11.	The responsibilities of the two assistant principals are clearly defined and teachers with various issues and concerns know whom to see.
27	26	96	01	12.	Before Principal Lee's arrival we had been somewhat lax about certain things. Principal Lee had to get control of the situation as best he could, even though some might disagree with how he got control. Now he has specified duties and responsibilities and we have to carry them out (such as hall and parking lot duties).
27	24	89	03	13.	In a way Principal Lee has made my job easier: There are no exceptions to the rules teachers are expected to follow so it does not pay to second guess him. I do not get caught in the middle between department members and the administration.
31	31	100	00	14.	Teachers are aware that the principal suddenly might walk in unannounced. Teachers have gotten into the routine of starting their classes on time and not wasting time at the end (i.e., just using "filler" activities.)
32	30	94	02	15.	We may teach how we'd like -- provided we do a good job in the classroom (e.g., have clear objectives, relate to students, and teach students, not the subject).
29	29	100	00	16.	During the first two or three weeks of school our principal comes in and observes every teacher in the school informally (apart from the state-mandated teacher observation instrument).
23	11	48	12	17.	The number of student failures is very important. If it is the nature of the student population, (e.g., slow or remedial) then the teacher does not know the students well enough and is not teaching to their level. The students are not getting a chance to succeed.
25	23	92	02	18.	Our school has always had the three ingredients to be an academically excellent school: bright, well-informed teachers who knew their content areas; generally affluent parents who wanted academic excellence for their children and who would back teachers and administrators; and students who came in, for the most part, ready and able to learn. Now we have a principal with the organizational skills to make the community aware of some of the great things we already had. As a result academic reputation has improved over the last three years and more students want to attend school here, as opposed to attending independent or parochial schools.
29	26	90	03	19.	This principal will always meet with groups concerned about the quality of the schooling. He has started several groups, such as the Parents-Principal Discussion Group and the Student-Principal Discussion Group, and he encourages openness and frankness amongst members of these groups and himself.
30	28	93	02	20.	When there is a disagreement between the principal and the teacher, chances are very likely that the principal will come out ahead.

n^a	Y^b	$\%^c$	N^d		Description of Norm
28	26	93	02	21.	Through Principal Lee's influence in school improvements this is a better place to teach, partly because he has higher expectations for teachers. If you are doing a good job as a teacher you have his support, but if you are weak you should be concerned.
31	25	81	06	22.	To the extent that Principal Lee (a pseudonym) believes that you do a good job in the classroom, there is that possibility of his being more open to negotiating with some of your own issues and concerns.
27	25	93	02	23.	Regarding extra materials and attending seminars, teachers can get what they want if Principal Lee is convinced that it will improve their teaching and if it is within his resource capability. He is consistent in helping you in this regard, and he does not play favorites even if you are not loyal to the administration.
28	25	89	03	24.	Teachers are encouraged to always have a possible solution when they approach the principal with a problem. This helps the process of solving the problem, and also makes the teachers aware that problems do need solutions that often can be worked out cooperatively.
25	19	76	06	25.	Some of the teachers here have never taught anywhere else than at this school. In the recent past consistent rules have not existed and some people could do what they wanted to do. Consequently, when rules (i.e., being to work on time) are consistently enforced some teachers will never want to be told what to do. An advantage to consistent enforcement of rules and to a principal who does not play favorites amongst different teachers, however, is that there are very few power cliques among teachers. This makes it easier to relate with colleagues, and not have to worry who is "over" whom.
28	22	79	06	26.	There are two terms that can describe the relationship between a principal and teachers: consistency and fairness, and these two terms are not always synonymous. **Consistency** relates to consistent enforcement of the rules and with Principal Lee this always occurs. If a teacher is late for work three or four times a note will be put into his or her mailbox, and possibly in one's personnel file, regardless of who the teacher is. **Fairness** relates to teachers possibly being treated differently. Teachers doing an excellent job in the classroom and willing to accept the principal's firm ideas about certain things often can negotiate (i.e., participate in a give-and take) their issues and concerns with Principal Lee.

standards belief. These norms support Lee's student-centered mission ("Take every student as far as s/he can go").

Norm 17 has only a 48% teacher agreement, possibly because Lee and his action committee had decided to adopt student failures as a school-wide goal during the time of the investigator's study. (During that year WHS had received an influx of lower SES students because the school attendance zone had been re-drawn.) Possibly many teachers were unaware that this goal had been set, when they responded to the checklist.

Norm 18 epitomizes his marketing vision, and norm 19 his belief in gaining parent support to implement his vision. As long as the community, especially parents, perceived that WHS had cleaned up its act and once again was a college preparatory school worthy of its past reputation, Lee' relationship with teachers could remain hierarchical (supported by norms 20 and 21). The exchanges (theoretically required for any relationship) made between Lee and the teachers appear highly restrictive and devoid of any human relations. To the extent that teachers complied with top-down, specific expectations (through consistent reinforcement), Lee was more than willing to reciprocate, when possible, with extras--provided he was convinced they would result in student achievement (# 22, #23, and #24). Norms 25, 26, and 7 indicate the somewhat limited "payback" for teachers: Teachers were treated consistently (#25) and backed with firm student discipline (#7 at 100% agreement); both of these expectations somewhat rid the school of power cliques (#25) and enabled teachers to teach better (#21).

The reader might recall that the teachers agreed or disagreed with norms regarding whether they were occurring, not whether they agreed philosophically with the norms. The teachers who might have resented Lee's authoritarian management had little alternative but to accept the somewhat limited (and principal-oriented) exchanges. Lee received his political support from other sources. The WHS community appeared most supportive of Lee, and the district superintendent was Lee's current mentor.

Burke and Nottingham High School (NHS)

NHS, located in a large Southeastern coastal city, was a suburban, college preparatory school in the early 1970s. After court-ordered desegregation, one-third of the white parents withdrew their children and placed them in independent or church-affiliated schools. NHS became a 50% minority school in the mid 1970s. The school board, still under court-ordered desegregation in the 1980s, established magnet schools to meet the district-wide 60:40 black-white ratio.

As of 1990 the once-affluent neighborhood has become desegregated and has "matured". The racial composition of the student body of 900 remains at approximately 50:50 white to black (during Burke's tenure). According to Burke, "The 150-200 white students who have come from private schools over the last four or five years have been offset by minority families moving into this area." The socioeconomic status (SES) of the minority families ranged from unemployed project residents to blue collar to owners of half-million dollar homes. This varied SES and racial student composition was a school's asset; the whites and blacks on the top of the economic ladder offset the blue collar and economically disadvantaged students.

Apparently Burke is a good mentor; four assistant principals have become principals. The faculty, many of whom were at NHS during its college preparatory phase of the early 1970s, remain relatively stable. In the nine years before this study, no teacher has been asked to leave. The staff currently includes 56 teachers. There have been six principals in this school's history. The first two principals with short tenures were followed by a principal with a 17-year tenure. Following this eminently successful principal was difficult, since the next two principals lasted one year and two years, respectively, before Burke took over in 1980.

Case Summary.

Burke's sense of mission (a conviction to make NHS a safe and good enough school to send his own children), his "Southern cracker toughness," and the previous principalship provided the mettle to make hard, fast initial decisions regarding faculty and students. His intentions initially were control-oriented. He had learned how to handle people (from a mentor) and how to discipline with some dignity, i.e., no paddling, and these skills no doubt helped him survive his first two tumultuous years at NHS.

At NHS Burke then found an outlet for solving his professional dilemma of a reputation for hard discipline and his needs for professional growth both for himself and for others. Burke's abilities to get what he wanted from people combined with a strong belief of treating people with respect ("not tearing down people") enabled him to form a cadre of teachers and counselors as entrepreneurial program managers. Burke was the hub of NHS vision-driven wheel, because he knew that NHS's academic resurrection lay with attracting higher SES students and re-establishing its college preparatory reputation.

Burke might have had the vision for curriculum improvement but he was no curriculum expert. He was dependent upon his teachers not only for their perceptions of what needed to be done but for their curricular and instructional expertise. The spokes of the wheel--the teachers--were invaluable, and had to be treated accordingly. To accomplish his vision of academic renewal, Burke's management style evolved toward participatory management because he needed a professional rapport with his staff. An open door policy and close daily communication enabled him to identify curriculum needs and involve teachers--or have teachers volunteer--in initiating and establishing the new programs. Then Burke's knack for badgering the central office enabled him to build the program. Complementing the above practices was his ability to promote his school by selling the college preparatory image to prospective parents and his high expectations for classroom teaching.

Was Brown's inner reality reflected in his relationships with the NHS teachers? Table 3 contains these norms. Norms 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 support Burke's relationship with teachers from the school control phase and appear to carry over until the time of this study. Teachers received backing in dealing with student discipline in exchange for keeping school problems within NHS.

Insert Table 3 about here

Burke's vision also seems rooted in the school's culture. Norm 6 implies the result of pushing the students by higher expectations and increasing college applications; norm 7 implies that transfer students have their expectations met. In norm 8, the entrepreneurial program managers are defined in the first two teacher categories as Burke's vision played out at NHS.

The number of norms defining professional rapport between Burke and his teachers is striking: norm 9 (short faculty meetings), norm 10 (allowed to really teach here), Norm 11 (not showing favoritism), norm 2 (high expectations without intimidation), norm 12 (pulling his own load), norm 13 (treats teachers as he would like to be treated), and norm 14 (considerate of teachers' time).

Marketplace dynamics defined Burke's relationship with many teachers: teachers as entrepreneurial program managers defined in norm 8 (with a 92% agreement) and Burke as facilitator. Norms 15 and 16 substantiate Burke's ability to provide resources for

Table 3

Norm Checklist for Nottingham High School

n[a]	Y[b]	%[c]	N[d]		Description of Norm
38	37	97	01	1.	The principal will stand behind his teachers when it comes to irate parents. He believes in his teachers and will protect his teachers if they are accused of wrong doing. If a teacher has done something wrong, he will not tell him or her in front of the parents, he will tell the teacher in private.
37	33	89	04	2.	As teachers we perceive that we have a special purpose here at Nottingham High School: We are expected to put something extra into our teaching. Our principal has the highest expectations for our teachers, and I think we lived up to these expectations without any resemblance of the traditional fear of principals that has existed in some schools.
32	29	91	03	3.	The principal will back you with a parent (even if you are wrong the first time), but he will tell you when you are wrong in private. You don't mess up the second time because he won't go to bat for you the second time. You know this.
36	28	78	08	4.	Student discipline may appear rather loose here (e.g., teachers and students often relate informally together). We will let a situation stretch, however, just so far and then we will have to tighten up and clamp down. (This process sometimes results in a quickly called faculty meeting to discuss possible remedies for that situation.)
32	23	72	09	5.	You are expected to not go over the principal's head. If you have a problem, go to him, but do not go downtown, or to board members, etc. If you do go over his head, your stock drops.
36	36	100	0	6.	The more we publicize student achievement (e.g., through memoranda, faculty meetings, and PTA newsletters), the more students expect high accomplishments. For instance three years ago only the top ten percent of our senior class was applying to four or five colleges. Now, the average senior is applying to three colleges each.
37	35	95	02	7.	Students who have transferred in from private schools usually believe that they were getting a good education here. Some of the students admit that, "It's harder here."

[a] Total number of respondents answering this item. [b] Number of respondents answering "yes". [c] Percentage of respondents answering "yes". [d] Number of respondents answering "no".

36 33 92 03 8. There are four categories of teachers in this school regarding willingness to try new things and grow professionally. There are the "entrepreneurial program initiators" who get an idea and support from the principal when needed. There are teachers who don't take the above initiative but given direction, they will branch out. Examples here are in the math and science program where, as more motivated students started attending our school, teachers felt pushed to keep up with the students' academic demands. The third category consists of the straddle-the-fence teachers. Generally they are most concerned with their teaching. They can go either way; that is either in the fourth category or the second category, depending on the dynamics within their department or just their friends with successful experience with a certain program. The fourth category are the teachers who work to collect their paychecks and are out the door at 1:55--just ahead of the students.

39 38 97 01 9. We have short faculty meetings and only when necessary. Occasionally, the principal will call the faculty to discuss and make us aware of certain problems.

39 37 95 02 10. You are allowed to really teach here. The principal does not interfere with what you are doing. Yet this does not imply that we have total freedom: Some teachers are no longer with us.

36 27 75 09 11. Our principal does not show favoritism (i.e., with teacher duties or requests for "extras" that can help our teaching). His decisions are based on what can best serve the interests of our students.

36 29 81 07 12. There is a widespread perception among teachers that our principal will pull his load (even though he cannot be everywhere to help all teachers). This perception often is successful in getting us to do things we might not otherwise do.

39 36 92 03 13. He deals with people the way he wants to be treated himself. When there are problems with the faculty, he handles them individually and privately. His first approach is, "How can we help you?" Because he spends time individually with faculty, he does not use faculty meetings to discuss things that he could discuss privately with one or two teachers. As a result, the faculty does not perceive that he is "checking up on us."

38 38 100 0 14. Our principal does not want to take teachers' time (such as planning and duty free lunch) unless absolutely necessary.

36 33 92 03 15. If you have a good idea, you can talk to him because he is perceived as always listening to ideas. If you can convince him that your idea will work, he will be supportive in helping you build your program. He knows the right people and how to deal with "downtown" and the community. He may take risks to help you, but it is your responsibility to have the idea and then go for it. As a result of this mutual understanding, an open- marketplace concept exists in our school, and there is loyalty and trust between teachers and principal.

38 36 95 02 16. If you need assistance here, you will get it (e.g., having a class covered, getting professional leave, or leaving campus during planning period to do errands). You are expected, however, as a professional to be responsible and to do a good job. The atmosphere here reflects the above two expectations: You are given certain freedoms and help that may not exist in other schools--but the expectations are high.

36 36 100 0 17. This principal uses teacher input that matches a situational management style--as opposed to involving the entire faculty. He will call in three or four teachers who have expertise in a particular area to ask for their reactions (i.e., Do you think this will work?).

33 27 82 06 18. There are at least four different ways of solving problems in this school. There are morning meetings among the administrators and the counselors; there are department head meetings twice during every nine weeks; there are faculty meetings (only called when there is a definite problem); and occasionally students may be called in by a teacher or administrator when appropriate, (or students occasionally may take the initiative).

37 34 92 03 19. Our principal operates an open door policy. Teachers can walk in and talk to the principal about concerns (i.e., we need to do something about this). He may set aside his paperwork to talk to the teachers; this sends the message that it is more important to communicate with teachers than to do paperwork.

38 26 68 12 20. Everyone serves a purpose on this campus: from certain coaches who not only coach but also can deal with student discipline to the most academically-oriented teacher.

37 22 59 15 21. The principal has set the expectation that he will make new teachers feel comfortable in their jobs. For instance, a teacher new to the school this year had been given air conditioning. Although few of us have air conditioning, most of us accepted this "extra" for a new teacher because we understand his concern for helping teachers new to the school.

39 33 85 06 22. This is a good school in which to work: There is a cohesion among many faculty members. For instance, sometimes at the end of the year we have a faculty picnic. We do not have many interdepartmental power games or backbiting of teachers.

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teachers and support their efforts. Burke's situational leadership (norm 17) and informal decision making (norms 4 and 18) are consonant within the marketplace and entrepreneurial context of the school culture. Burke had learned the importance of knowing his teachers' expertise and whom to go to about particular problems and solutions. The importance of the open door policy (#19), Burke's willingness to be supportive and listen (#15), and deliver the resources (#15 and #16) were facilitative strategies in this relationship. The low agreements of Norms 11 and 20 might substantiate the entrepreneurial phenomenon: by providing resources to a few teachers, the perception of "favoritism" might have been inevitable (#11); given the last category in norm 8, not all teachers would serve a purpose at NHS.

Jackson and Carmichael High School (CHS)

CHS, with 49 teachers and 800 students, is an inner-city school located in a major, metropolitan school system in the Southeast. In the mid 1970s the school was a white middle to upper-class elite, college preparatory school reputation. This perception persists "downtown" (at the main district offices) and throughout the metropolitan area. The student body, however, become 70% black and 30% white in the mid 1980s. (Some middle and upper-middle class whites still attended CHS, partly because of its location in an upper-middle class neighborhood). Other students attend CHS district-wide for the performing arts program. Since students auditioned to show potential in the performing arts, academic entrance criteria are not as demanding as those at other magnet schools.

The staff remains stable, until the three years preceding this study when there were several retirements, and appeared extremely proficient and dedicated. Most teachers were attracted to this school in the mid 1970s, when it had been an academically elite school.

When Jackson started his tenure at CHS in February 1977, he soon discovered that school conditions did not match the community's "silk stocking" image. Student tardiness was epidemic. Students were generally apathetic, e.g., a school track team with three members. Marijuana, Angel dust, alcohol and cocaine were being used and dealt in the school. The administration had allowed the senior-only open campus policy to get out of hand, and CHS had become an open campus for all students. Teachers and administrators essentially could not account for many students after lunch period. Approximately 75% of the students were opting to take easy courses, e.g., avoiding physics courses, and graduating with the minimum number of courses allowed by the state. CHS, for instance, had seven physical education teachers and only one physics teacher in 1977.

Case Summary.

Jackson's mission as both a role model and as an advocate for due process primarily for students was grounded in his biographical experiences. Largely because of his experiences in the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s, in getting control of CHS and in improving the curriculum, the student always came first.

Jackson's expectations-and-consequences model and needs assessment model (both grounded in his beliefs that learning from one's mistakes and being accountable for one's actions were crucial lessons to be learned in life), were crucial tools as he worked with people for agreed-upon, student-related goals. He used his models in the initial, school control phase to set basic expectations for students and teachers on a schoolwide basis: Here were the rules (generally arrived at through committee work) and here were the consequences for not obeying the rules.

The change in Jackson's actions taken to a consensual approach coincided with the formulation of his vision (that high school was the best and last chance in life for an increasing number of CHS students). As more minority students from lower SES backgrounds began attending CHS, his management actions became more participatory for two reasons. First, Jackson needed more suggestions from a wider spectrum of school and community players to solve more complex problems. Second, he needed more time to work individually and in small groups with students and occasionally with teachers.

Jackson's knack for working with individual students and teachers and students in small groups related to his new proclivity toward greater input from faculty. People, their individual skills and potential skills, became a crucial resource. He appeared unafraid to surround himself with the most competent people, e.g., the new counseling director hired from the private sector. Because he had a strong self-concept, encouraging other peoples' opinions was not threatening to him. In using consensus-building actions, Jackson improved the school through a more situational approach: understanding student needs, linking up the right teachers for these opportunities, and providing the resources.

Jackson's intentions remained grounded in his sense of mission, i.e., student advocacy and role modeling, and remained consistent throughout his CHS tenure. His choices of unilateral or consensus decision making remained situational because his sense-making remained mission-driven. As a student advocate, Jackson expected students to be treated fairly and equitably. He did not expect students and teachers to do things he would not do. Jackson's vision represented only an adjustment, e.g., more counseling with students and consensus decision making, but not a major shift in his sense-making.

Did the social norms provide indication that his inner reality had been woven into his relationship with his teachers? Table 4 contains these norms. Several norms substantiate Jackson's mission as role model and advocate for due process:

Insert Table 4 about here

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the expectation of racial and religious tolerance (#1), the

Table 4

Norm Checklist for Carmichael High School

n[a]	Y[b]	%[c]	N[d]		Description of Norm
29	24	83	05	1.	There is the expectation here among students and faculty of tolerating individual, racial, and socioeconomic differences because students here represent diverse neighborhoods.
29	22	76	07	2.	Ambiguities are not acceptable at Northside. Everything should be known up front, no hidden agendas that might relate between principal and teachers. Students should not be penalized if ambiguities exist regarding expected rules and enforcement by teachers. If there are problems in specifications for rules and consequences, they will be worked out between administration and teachers, written in the student handbook, and implemented.
24	20	83	04	3.	Teachers have an informal due process procedure. If a teacher has a problem with a department head, and goes to see the principal, his first question is "Have you seen the department head and have you tried to work it out?"
25	21	84	04	4.	The principal demonstrates a personal concern for his students (meeting with groups and individuals and making sure that graduating seniors have a plan for the future).
28	25	89	03	5.	Students are entitled to due process. This relates to infractions of rules by teachers or students as they relate to grades or mistreatment. If it's academic, it should go teacher, department head, administrator. If it's conduct, it should go teacher, the appropriate assistant principal, and finally to principal.
25	25	100	0	6.	When students have questions about why they are receiving certain punishments, they have the right to an informal hearing, that is, to know why certain things are being done. This functions in effect as a due process. It it not uncommon for this to be done directly with the principal.
26	21	81	05	7.	A lot of work in this school is done through committees when folks would like to have something changed. The principal will usually have one of the two assistant principals involved these committees.
28	22	79	06	8.	School-wide meetings are called rarely (generally four or five times a year) and there is a specific reason (e.g., for counselors to deal with the testing).

[a] Total number of respondents answering this item. [b] Number of respondents answering "yes". [c] Percentage of respondents answering "yes". [d] Number of respondents answering "no".

23 16 70 07 9. Our principal is protective of his teachers regarding excessive paper demands from the district office ("downtown").

27 24 89 03 10. Our principal maintains an open door policy. You don't have to make an appointment to see him; if it's open, you may go and discuss your concerns. If the door is shut, you had better make sure you have a very good reason.

29 22 76 07 11. As long as my teaching is based on student needs (and I follow the curriculum guide), I can teach in this school the way I want to teach. For instance, I do not have to teach to the test.

27 21 78 08 12. Teachers are expected to give homework daily. If this does not occur, the principal tends to find out about it through students and parents and he will let the teachers know verbally and then, if necessary, in writing.

26 22 85 04 13. Teachers are expected to plan for their classes. He does not review lesson plans; these go to department heads and are filed. A copy also is filed for state standards and it's possible that somehow through the filing system that the principal might find out about any possible problems.

29 27 93 02 14. Teachers are expected to exhaust all possible avenues to make their students successful in class. This involves using print materials, auditory materials, and audio-visual aids. Students are expected to be actively involved in the lessons.

28 24 86 04 15. A key to this school is our very experienced faculty which originated in the 1970s when this school was an academically elite school. Many of these teachers define by example the quality of teaching within their departments, in addition, of course, to the department heads. Their personal philosophy -- that of academic rigor and high standards for college prep -- is contagious to other teachers. We are expected to do everything we can for each level of student.

28 22 79 06 16. If you have a complaint with another teacher, you are encouraged to deal directly with that colleague and not go to the principal unless absolutely necessary.

25 17 68 08 17. You are expected to do your job and do it well. If you come in, and you are having problems, you are expected to improve on your problems and Principal Jackson will help you. Providing you are improving and trying, chances are you will do well, but you must progress. If not, you receive work plans, are notified in writing, and if necessary, professional development plans. Then it that does not work out, you may be gone.

26 12 46 14 18. The principal has a reputation in being consistent with both students and teachers, regardless of whether he is personal friends with them or not.

29 19 66 10 19. To insure consistency only the administration can meter out punishments that will regard staying in detention hall. Teachers can have students after school (in their classrooms) if they violate classroom rules or if they are tardy for class or if asked by teachers to stay after school for academic extra help.

26 11 42 15 20. Teachers who want help in their classrooms (chalk, extra materials, computers) can count on Principal Jackson to get them. Yet, you are expected to be accountable for how you use them.

29 19 66 10 21. As teachers we all have a stake in the school. We know this is a good place to teach; we also know how fast a school could potentially go down hill and then teaching would not be productive anymore. Therefore, although we are not a close-knit faculty and in fact, there are people here that don't personally like each other, we do respect each other as professionals.

28 15 54 13 22. In each department, we seem to have a teacher who wants to take responsibility for expanding a program to meet different student needs. This becomes contagious to other folks and the principal has encouraged this entrepreneurship as it percolates through the school.

25 15 60 10 23. The school goes out on their own regarding textbook adoption, and may in certain instances, use books not selected by the district office, but are on the state adoption list. We have our own identity, and in some cases, the district-selected text does not meet our needs.

28 09 32 19 24. We are a unique school and in a way, a lack of structure makes things work around here. For instance, regarding teacher assistance for instructional help, sometimes this is brought to light by a parent, sometimes department head, sometimes principal, but out of this wash, the teacher gets help. There is not necessarily a consistent procedure, but it gets done.

28 24 86 04 25. Regarding student discipline, "by the time a student ends up seeing the principal, the student knows he has a real problem and may end going home." Teachers and department heads do not have this power.

elimination of ambiguities regarding rules for student conduct and enforcement by teachers (#2), due process for teachers (#3), personal concern for students (#4) and due process for students (#5 and #6; 89% and 100% respectively). These norms infer that Jackson was successful in stressing small group and individual meetings with students in which he was a role model and advocate.

Several norms also confirm Jackson's knack of working with people and imply a participatory management approach: working through committees (#7), a minimal number of school-wide faculty meetings (#8), protection of teachers from paperwork (#9) and Jackson's "open door policy" (#10).

Norms 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16 imply that Jackson helped set with teachers a school-wide climate for success, e.g., high teacher classroom expectations for themselves and for their students. Jackson had begun his tenure modeling high expectations for students and some of these norms may reflect Jackson's initial school control management phase when setting an academic tone to CHS was essential. Teachers did not agree on Norm 17 (Jackson's classroom monitoring). Jackson did not mention use of this strategy, and possibly classroom monitoring was not his intention. Some teachers, however, may have perceived themselves accountable to student requests (given Jackson's role as a student advocate).

Several norms, however, were perceived by teachers as not "set". Some tension apparently existed between Jackson and the teachers. Norm 18 (in which teachers questioned whether Jackson was consistent with teachers and students) lends credence to this speculation. Teachers traditionally expect their principals to back them with classroom discipline. Yet as a student advocate, Jackson might have been perceived as "taking the student's side at the expense of the teacher" during those constant classroom discipline problems which principals are expected to arbitrate. Norm 19 also indicates teacher lack of agreement over the chain-of-command among administrators, teachers, and students for student discipline (no doubt a very sensitive issue).

Norms 20 (classroom resources), 21 (a common stake in their school), 22 (entrepreneurial program managers), 23 (school autonomy in textbook selection), and 24 (availability of teacher assistance) indicate lack of a cohesive agreement among teachers. In particular Norms 20 and 24 point to an emerging pattern that considerable ambiguity exists at CHS.

Principals logically are the norm setters in schools as organizations. They act as the "internal hubs" for within-school negotiations, exchanges, and formulation of rules; externally they represent their schools to constituencies and to various agencies including their central offices. Jackson appeared so mission-driven as student advocate, role model, and later as counselor that norms were set along a principal-student orientation with the teachers at best of secondary importance. Although norm 25 indicates that Jackson is the ultimate disciplinarian, teachers might have been unsure of the outcomes regarding that ubiquitous administrator-teacher-student triangle over discipline matters. Teachers appear far surer over Jackson's relationships with students than his relationships with themselves.

Across-Case Analysis

The missions of these principals represented rather general, student-centered, convictions. Brown wanted the opportunity to shape a school and negotiated the necessary autonomy from his superintendent. Lee proposed to take each student as far academically as possible. Burke wanted to make NHS a safe and academically a good enough school to send his own children. Jackson vowed to make a difference in the lives of his students as both a role model and an advocate for racial equity.

How their missions might have played out had they not all entered out-of-control schools, is an intriguing but irrelevant question. Because of the immense problems perceived by these principals, their sense of mission was interpreted as providing them with the inner strength and resiliency both to survive and gain control of their schools.

Because the initial sense-making by all these principals approximated getting control over their schools, particularly over the students, actions taken comprised controlling behaviors and application of management practices, i.e., unilateral decision making based on positional authority. Among these actions taken were specifying student behavior standards and then setting up accountability systems.

With the schools under control, actions taken by these principals diverged and became mixes of controlling and influencing-gaining actions taken. These mixes varied because the blends of mission and vision grounded the principals' sense-making differently. Brown and Burke's were influenced considerably by their contextually-developed visions; Lee and Jackson's sense-making was influenced minimally by their visions.

Brown envisioned that MCHS would never improve substantially unless his teachers shared in decisions affecting their workplace and meeting student needs. He intended to share power with his teachers gradually as they learned about the playoff between decision making and responsibility. Of the four principals, Brown's intentions appeared most driven by vision and resulted largely in influence-gaining (i.e., leadership) behaviors as he and the MCHS teachers struggled with the dilemma of sharing power for the common purposes of school change and improvement.

Burke discovered that more academically ambitious students could push teachers and programs. Once enough college-oriented students starting attending NHS, academic programs would have to improve through student and parent pressures--provided he could find the resources "downtown." He became dependent upon his teachers for program development as he marketed NHS as a rejuvenated college preparatory school. The resulting actions taken were both human relations and facilitation-oriented and differed substantially from those used to gain control of NHS. To some extent Burke's sense-making may have remained mission-grounded, i.e., playing out his professional dilemma between the conflicting needs of disciplinarian and personal growth first encountered in his assistant principalship. Burke's sense-making, however, was analyzed as grounded more in vision than mission, since, like Brown, his actions taken represented a radical shift, e.g., dependency upon certain teachers, in his thinking.

Lee's and Jackson's sense-making and their actions taken, conversely, remained grounded in sense of mission. Despite his vision (WHS needed marketing, not a thorough overhaul), Lee's sense-making remained structural-functional and grounded biographically. Partly because of Lee's career goal (the superintendency), he maintain his image as the control figure to the community. Lee's actions taken shifted direction towards marketing and public relations but remained unilateral, partly because he needed community support (and his attendance zone's students) far more than teacher support. He had earned enough goodwill chips from teachers for creating the conditions at WHS conducive to good classroom instruction. Decisiveness and an authoritarian relationship with teachers based on mission-grounded motives characterized Lee's entire string of actions taken.

Jackson's actions taken also remained grounded primarily in his mission and clearly were the most morally driven of these four principals. His vision (that high school might be their best chance for a pattern of success in life) merely represented an extension of his mission. His actions taken (unilateral revamping of the counseling department, consensus decision making within the management team, personal counseling of students) remained driven by his student advocacy for equity and remained a mix of controlling and influence-gaining actions taken. Unlike Brown, whose actions taken also remained mixes of controlling and influence-gaining behaviors, e.g., reserving the right to hire teachers, Jackson's actions taken remained grounded in mission, not vision, and were clearly the most morally driven.

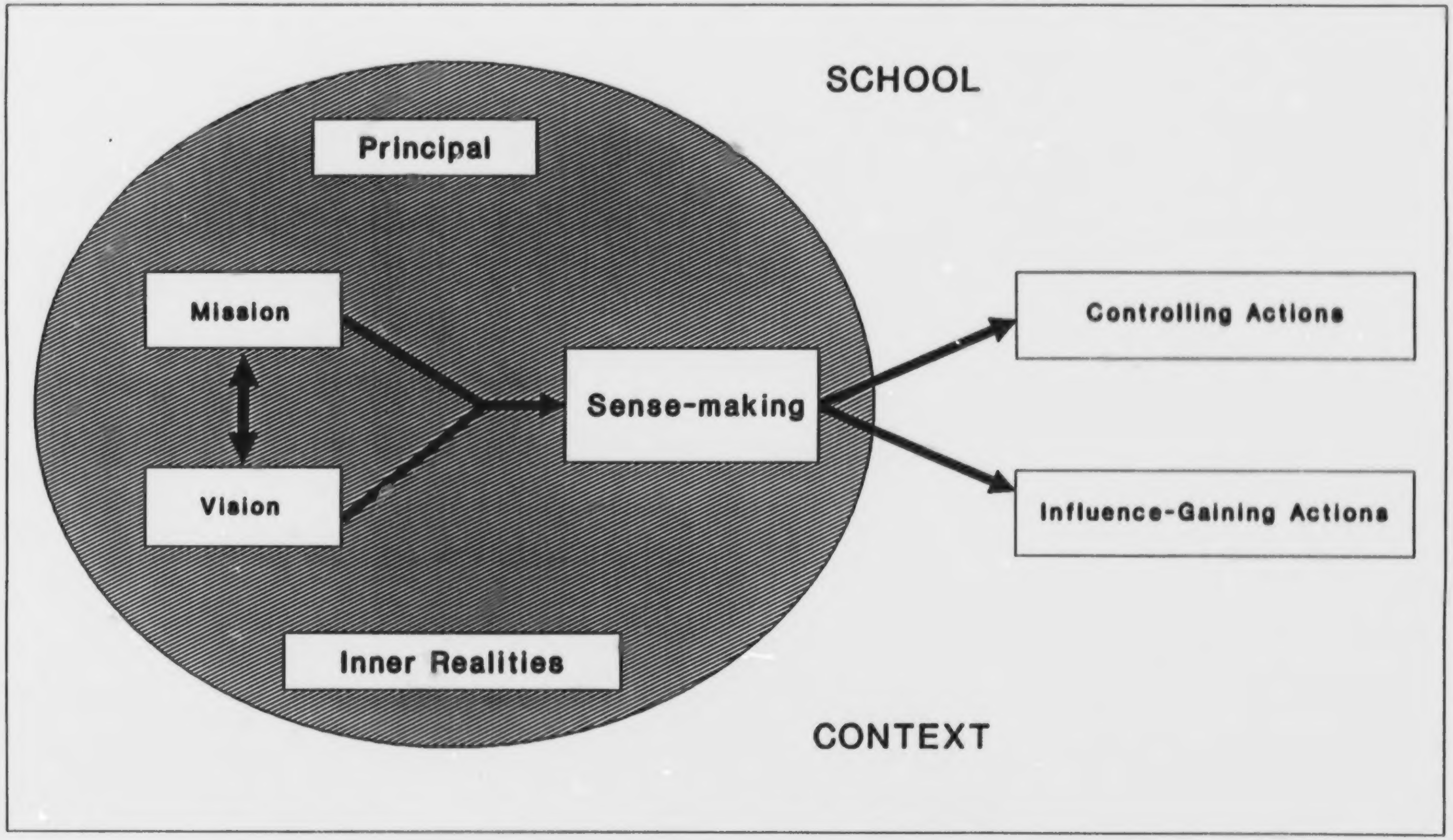
Study Implications

The sense-making of many principals may remain far more grounded in biographical influences than in transformative visions. Vision can be viewed as an crucial construct when it represents major shifts in principals' motives and hence in their actions taken (as in the cases of Brown and Burke). The later actions taken by Lee and Jackson, however, remained mediated through mission-grounded motives. Their visions aided them in clarifying their motives and translating them into actions (Peterson, 1986). These visions, however, did not represent *shifts in their thinking*.

As indicated in Figure 1, no clear pattern emerges among these four principals. The interaction between mission and vision as beliefs, and between sense-making and the mixes of actions taken emerge from this study as a complex process inseparable from organization context. The mixes of controlling and influence-gaining actions taken by these principals did not exist in an ideological vacuum. The term "actions taken" (not

Insert Figure 1 about here

Figure 1. The interactional relationship among principal inner beliefs , actions taken, and school context.


SCHOOL
Principal
Mission
Vision
Sense-making
Controlling Actions
Influence-Gaining Actions
Inner Realities
CONTEXT

decontextualized behaviors) properly connotes deliberate, cognitive linkages between what these successful principals did and why they did them. These cognitive linkages (termed sense-making in this paper) were grounded in blends of biographical influence (mission) and contextually-developed directions for school improvement (vision). Principals do what they perceive is important and their inner realities have direct bearing on their actions taken.

Table 5 contains statistical treatments of the four norm checklists. The overall norm agreement of 85% contrasts favorably with that of Foskett (1966), who found mean agreement scores ranging from .407 to .508 (i.e., around 50%) for teachers' own views and their perception of the views of principals, school board members, superintenents, leaders, parents, and citizens

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Insert Table 5 about here

Norms used in the current study generally comprise a useful analysis tool in illustrating how the principals' inner realities became embedded in their relationships with teachers. Even in Jackson's case norms were useful in speculating that his inner beliefs caused teachers some problems.

As part of shared meanings about organizations, principal-teacher relationships implied by some of the norms can be used to explain each school's cultural cohesivity (defined by teacher

Table 5

Statistical Treatment of Norm Checklists

School	TRR[a]	TAR[b]	PNA[c]
Monroe	90	87	90
Wells	90	88	92
Nottingham	94	88	91
Carmichael	93	74	68

[a] Teacher Response Rate: Total Possible Teacher Responses Divided By Total Actual Responses. [b] Teacher Agreement Rate: Total Positive Teacher Responses Divided By Total Actual Responses. [c] Percent Of Norms Agreed Upon By School's Teachers.

agreement on norms). Brown and MCHS teachers, Lee and WHS teachers, and Burke and NHS teachers demonstrated comparable cohesivity (90%, 92%, and 91%, respectively). For Brown, the shared governance structure was the pivot around which a common culture between MCHS's teachers and him was woven; Brown and the teachers seemed to relate colleagially (Brown as advisor and colleague who reserved administrative privilege in certain areas). Lee and his teachers related hierarchically under structural-functionalist assumptions; Lee monitored classroom teaching, made unilateral decisions within the school, and functioned as the school's marketing representative much in the same way he had brought the school under control.

Burke and his teachers seemed to have the most mutually dependent relationship: Burke needed his teachers' program development expertise, and traded off his rapport and resource acquisition with his staff to create an entrepreneurial environment. (Unlike Brown, Burke did not attend curriculum workshops and appeared to have little motive of becoming a collegial curriculum player with his teachers.)

The nature of Jackson's relationship with his teachers might have caused the lowest level of cultural cohesivity (68% teacher norm agreement) of the four schools. Jackson's over-riding mission to be both a role model and advocate for his students violates a sacrosanct principal-teacher norm: consistent principal support of teachers in discipline matters with students.

Theoretic Discussion

One striking observation is absence of central office influence with these principals. As reported elsewhere (Keedy, 1991c; Keedy (1992a), these principals rarely mentioned their central offices as sources of influence. References to their central office administrators were as likely to be negative (controlling, interfering) as supportive. (Interestingly enough, Lee reported the greatest degree of support (resources, superintendent's cautious mentoring). Trider and Leithwood (1988) and Leithwood (1986) found that instructionally oriented principals were less influenced by board and district factors and more guided by their own beliefs.

These findings have an epistemological implication, especially for central office personnel-principal relationships. "Professional" knowledge, i.e., knowledge leading to actions, cannot be produced and imported from the outside, but instead consists of interpretations drawn directly from actual circumstances, events, etc., and expressed as sentiments played out in daily workplace contexts (Sirotnik, 1989).

Given the high teacher norm agreement, these principals apparently also created knowledge through social interaction and negotiation among school-site personnel (Smylie & Denny, 1990). In elaborating upon the constructivist perspective (sense making between beliefs and work), these principals provided meaning to the work of other actors in the school (Krug, 1992).

The theoretical framework for principal leadership (Mitchell, in Tucker-Ladd et al., 1992) can be useful in discussing the principal-teacher relationships implied by the social norms. Mitchell, among other things, located four work orientations (leader, administrator, manager, superior) along one axis and the transactional and transformational dimensions along the other axis.

In the study reported in this paper, each principal appears to define work success differently. Brown epitomizes the "leader," seeking change, using creative approaches to solve problems (task forces through the SDM model), and assuming that teachers are creative, energetic, and engaged deeply in their work. Burke plays the "administrator," facilitating the work activities of staff members who have professional understandings of their work responsibilities, e.g., NHS's entrepreneurial program managers. Jackson only approximates the work of "manager," who viewed work settings as complex and requiring identification of specific problems and development of appropriate programs to solve them (his process models, replacement of the counselor team, the enlarged school management team). Lee clearly fits the "supervisor," defining and implementing tasks, and perceiving teachers as effective when using standardized practices identifiable in classroom evaluation instruments.

Brown (with his SDM) and, to a lesser extent, Burke (with his entrepreneurial managers) emerge as transformational leaders forming value-driven relationships empowered by mutual commitment and used collective energies towards purposeful change. Lee stays at the transactional stage; his relationship with teachers remained grounded in exchange, e.g., Lee's resources to teachers in exchange for more effective teaching practices. Jackson appears caught between transactional and transformational work orientations. His processes (expectations-and-consequences model and needs assessment models) were situational (one-on-one, small groups). Jackson's student advocacy and due process, consequently, did not become embedded culturally with the teachers. As mentioned above, the very nature of his mission also may have upset traditional principal-teacher norms.

The high overall teacher norm agreement indicates that a relationship between the inner realities and actions taken of these principals and their school cultures exists, (although to a far less degree in the case of Jackson). As Tucker-Ladd et al.(1992) and Sergiovanni (1984) have advocated, leaders can influence the cultures of their schools (expressed in this study as norms). Student outcome data collected in the study also support a strong speculation that these principals also affected classroom and student learning outcomes.

Brown, Lee, and Burke, and, to a lesser extent, Jackson, play both the technical (managerial) orientation and the symbolic, culture builder (leadership) orientation described by Deal & Peterson (1992). Because of the school conditions initially confronting these principals, they immediately needed to apply managerial skills. Generally, at least in the cases of Brown, Burke, and Jackson, their managerial role orientations lessened and more leadership, i.e., influence-gaining actions increased. Yet, as indicated by each school's norms, *both* managerial behaviors, e.g., Brown's established "right" to select teachers, *and* collegially-oriented actions, e.g., Burke's entrepreneurial program managers, can form the web of stories, myths, informal understandings that comprise school culture.

Suggestions for Improvement of Principal Preparation Programs

Vision building based on candidate's beliefs has become a major part of administrator preparation curriculum. Yet visions may be driven contextually and situated within school context: Visions do not grow on trees. (The four principals, *as they began their tenures*, had little conception of visions.) This investigator questions whether administrator *candidates* logically can be expected to develop vision without previous administrative experience. If professional knowledge is mediated and therefore constructed by several influences (principals' inner beliefs, and interactions with teachers, parents, etc.), then asking students to formulate their visions independent of school context appears of little value. Students can sort out their (biographically-grounded) missions, but identifying visions appears best suited for year-long internships or for students with administrative experience.

Second, principals in this study were seasoned administrators (each had had a previous principalship). This investigator questions whether novice principals could survive their first years in the high schools described in this study, *and* switch gears to more influence-gaining actions.

How do we align students with appropriate programs so that students with no administrative experience *first* receive "practitioner skills" to help them survive? (Daresh and Playko, 1992, found that novice administrators wanted "survival skills" (running meetings, scheduling, budget-building related to their district political and technical contexts.)

Programs for novice principals seem logical places for university-district collaboration. In *initial* level programs students need to learn how to form collectivities among administrators, teachers, and students (schools as potentially self-managing units). In *advanced* programs for experienced principals, students might deal with vision-building, school restructuring, informal theory building. At this level students learn how schools fit into the larger picture, e.g., relationship of schools with other public agencies and with business and industry. Currently, university programs, districts, and state education agencies which license principals are ships passing in the night. Until these three sets of players collaborate to "align programs," many university reform efforts might be limited.

Third, vision building may require considerable analytic skills (Smith & Andrews, 1989): assessing school environments and matching up the right teachers with appropriate, redesigned positions and the resources. Successful principals detect unexploited opportunities and deficiencies (Conger, 1989). How can we identify analytic skills during the principal recruitment and interview phases? Have we favored verbal skills on the Graduate Record Examination simply because they are needed to write dissertations? Should we look instead at the quantitative and analysis subtests?

Fourth, we need to recruit different principals for jobs requiring different mixes of management and leadership skills. Effective interviewing, for instance, might uncover candidate sense of mission (especially since biographical experiences appear capable of influencing actions taken throughout a principal's tenure) and an inclination toward use of management skills appropriate for some situations. Because vision appears so contextually driven, asking principal candidates, unless they currently are administrators, about their vision may be of limited importance. Although this recommendation may seen simplistic, many principals reported that they had little idea what was expected of them in their new assignments (Boyer, 1983).

Fifth, since understanding school context seems a crucial skill for principals, situated cognition and cognitive apprenticeships (Prestine, & LeGrand, 1990) may have a particular relevance to principal preparation. In these perspectives "... knowledge is created and made meaningful by the context and activities through which it is acquired" (p. 1). The traditional EA professor lecture, questioning, and discussion mode appears inappropriate from this learning perspective. Should course delivery models be redesigned so principal candidates have considerable internship opportunities *distributed throughout their programs* to integrate knowledge and practice, as opposed to a program-ending internship?

Last, can norm setting be addressed both in university classrooms and in school social contexts? Principals and aspiring principals need to understand: 1) that traditional norms are merely functional, i.e., relate to daily practice and do not convey moral authority (Blumberg & Greenfield, 1986); and 2) that norm setting can be a purposeful, active process for principals (Keedy, 1982).

Footnotes

[1] In this paper I use data from School Improvement Agenda Setting and Practices of Successful High School Principals (Keedy, 1991a). Elsewhere, I used this study to report on these four principals' relationships with their central offices (Keedy, 1992a), on qualitative research methodology (Keedy, 1992b), and on implications for instructional improvement for the principalship (Achilles, Keedy, & High, in press).

[2] Norms are behavioral expectations to which group members are expected to conform (Homans, 1958). Lortie (1975, p. 68) described norms as "The way we do things around here." As unspoken rules of the game, norms usually are not apparent to outsiders. Fundamental organization change, however, often is impossible without identifying and dealing with deep-seated norms. (See Keedy, 1991b for a discussion of norms and school

restructuring.)

[3] That all four principals perceived that their tenures began in "out-of-control" schools exemplifies the concept of inner realities. Through personal observation and informal conversations with teachers, parents, community leaders these principals, in their sense making, became convinced that this condition was a *reality to them.* They generally revised their preconceived missions to accomodate this influence on their practice. During the first years of their tenures, these principals' actions largely were structural-functionalist. Readers may ask, Were these schools, in fact, out-of-control? Some teachers, for instance, in interviews agreed with their principals with this perception; some did not. (Contrary to Brown's perception, for instance, many teachers did not perceive that teachers had low classroom expectations for students--see Norm 5. Yet what matters were these principals' perceptions, i.e., their inner reality.

[4] Readers may view with some justification the selection of research participants by principals as problematic: Did selection bias operate in this study? The investigator (in responding to the AERA proposal reviewer critique), has two responses. First, the investigator asked the principals to satisfy the three teacher participant selection criteria (see Methodology section) by choosing teachers with broad spectrums of perspectives, i.e., not just teachers who supported them politically. Two of the principals, Brown and Burke, replied that participant selection

did not matter to them; they both had clear understandings of where they stood with their teachers on particular issues. Second, these principals apparently did use at the very least the criterion of "differing perspectives." Three examples from the teacher interview data are given here. *Teacher No. 6* did not include Brown's school improvement contribution of the shared governance structure; according to his perspective, a principal lost respect of teachers if she/he "could not rule the roost" (Keedy, 1991a, Appendix A, p. 6). *Teacher No.1* (who had an independent school perspective in which administrators were more interested in academics than "bureaucratic, paper-pushing cogs" in public schools, claimed that Lee indeed had restored order in Wells High School; Lee, however, now needed to end the "witch hunt" and encourage more faculty input" (Keedy, 1991a, Appendix C, p. 1). One of Jackson's teachers shared with the investigator--upon the condition of anonymity--that Jackson catered too much in the students' side and provided commensurately too little support for the teachers. Had these principals chosen only supportive teacher participants, comments such as these most likely would not have occurred.

[5] Table 2 (Keedy, 1991a) contains the students new to this district who decided to attend WHS during Lee's three-year tenure.

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Appendix A

Student Achievement Data

Brown and Monroe County High School (MCHS)

Student outcomes began to improve significantly presumably due to both Brown's restoration of law and order to MCHS and the SDM structure. In 1984, MCHS personnel set a long term goal to improve student achievement as measured by the passing of the state-required, tenth grade achievement test. (This test had to be passed as a requirement for graduation.) In 1983, 80% of students passed the reading test and 67% passed the mathematics test. In 1989, 87% passed reading and 85% passed mathematics This improvement began in 1984 and continued even though the school significantly decreased its dropout rate by one-half over the same period of time, and the state standards were raised in 1985. In 1985 a state writing sample was added to the requirement. The writing sample mean score (determined by state scores) of students was 309.09 in 1986, 334.69 in 1987, 342.42 and 346.53 in 1988. Passing scores changed from slightly over 50% of students in 1985 to over 91% of students in 1988.

Lee and Wells High School (WHS)

Despite the influx of "less-than-able" students over the past two years, WHS student test scores continued to improve. Over a four-year period scores on the Tests of Achievement Proficiency (TAP) for ninth graders improved eight points in reading, nine points in mathematics, and six points in written expression.

Eleventh graders improved six points in reading, 17 points in mathematics, and four points in written expression. In the mathematics portion of the SAT, student scores improved 18 points from 1987 to 1989.

Burke and Nottinghsm High School (NHS)

At NHS SAT verbal scores showed a steady increase from 346 to 397 and mathematics scores improved from 397 to 461 from 1983 to 1989. From 1986 to 1989 in the Test of Achievement Proficiency, reading increased 46% to 60%, mathematics from 42% to 51% and written expression from 49% to 57%. (These tests, given by state mandate to ninth graders, were first administered in 1986.)

In addition, between 1986 and 1988, a total of 109 students took 169 advanced placement examinations. Sixty-five percent achieved a score of 3 or higher with 24% scoring 4 or higher. Since NHS served as a select school for engineering robotics, approximately 200 students currently were enrolled in this advanced curriculum. Academic scholarships from 1987 to 1989 totaled 1.2 million dollars. During this time period NHS had six national merit scholarship finalists and eight state scholars.

Jackson and Carmichael High School (CHS)

Physics enrollment had increased 300%. Approximately 80% of the students graduated with more than the minimum graduation requirements. Tardiness decreased to 50-75 per day. The use and possession of drugs had all but disappeared.

Student outcomes have improved, despite the fact that Carmichael High School now had lower SES students. Graduation rates were 93% in 1989, up from 74% (1986). From 1986 to 1989 scores on the Test of Achievement Proficiency (TAP) increased from 58% to 65%. In mathematics, TAP scores increased from 45% to 61%. In grade 10 overall Iowa Test of Basic Skills (ITBS) increased from 54% to 64%. Grade 10 reading scores improved on the ITBS from 61% in 1986 to 68% in 1989. The same ninth graders in the ITBS showed improvement in their tenth grade scores. In reading, for instance, they increased from 58% to 64% from 1986 to 1987 and from 53% to 68% from 1988 to 1989. In mathematics, scores increased from 45% to 58% in 1986-87, 42% to 53% in 1987-88, 46% to 64% in 1988-89.

The ninth grade students in the remedial education programs for reading showed an increase from the 28th percentile to the 36th percentile. In mathematics, ninth graders increased from 28% to 33%, and tenth graders, 26% to 32%. Also in mathematics, ninth graders increased four percentile points (32nd to 37th) from 1988 to 1989. Finally, the Basic Skills Test scores from 1987 increased from 92% to 96% in 1989 for reading, 72% in 1987 to 93% in 1989 for mathematics, and 93% to 95% in 1989 for writing. In each of these tests, CHS students surpassed the system-wide percentile average which included an eight point increase in 1989.

Appendix B

Teacher Perceptions of Principal School Improvements

Substantive categories were constructed inductively by common characteristics (Spradley, 1979). Inter-rater agreement on categorization generated by a panel of experts -- four EA professors--was $\geq$ .80. Tables B-1 through B-4 are below.

Table B-1

Moore County High School: Teacher Perceptions of Principal School Improvements

Code	Category Descriptions and Examples	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	T*
SDM	The principal intiated **shared decision-making** (i.e., shared governance structure). By participating in this stucture, teachers perceived they could influence the conditions of	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		$\frac{8}{8}$
SA	These improvements were managerial and often mandated (e.g., enforced rules consistently). He observed teachers (before state required it); protected instructional time; when necessary checked lesson plans. Brown indirectly improved student achievement by setting higher expectations for teachers as they worked with students. He also demonstrated individual interest in students' well-being and achievement.		x			x x x	x		x x	x	x	$\frac{6}{9}$
PC	Brown improved the building's **professional climate** for teachers. He encouraged teacher professional growth by making teachers in SDM and obtaining more material and supplies.		x				x x	x	x		x	$\frac{5}{6}$
SD	The principal improved **student discipline**. This category was essentially principal-student oriented (e.g., he instituted specific procedures for punishments; communicated this procedure to parents; backed up his teachers in confrontations with parents).		x		x	x			x	x	x	$\frac{6}{6}$
SBC	He improved the **school building and campus grounds**. This improvement had a positive effect on teacher morale.		x			x		x				$\frac{3}{3}$
Abc	*T = totals $\frac{\text{\# of respondents (10)}}{\text{total responses}}$											

Table B-2

Wells High School: Teacher Perceptions of Principal School Improvements

Code	Category Descriptions and Examples	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	T*
SD	Principal Lee improved **student discipline**: clear, concise expectations for student conduct in **Handbook**; student attendance policies were implemented; teachers knew they were backed by administrators	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x x	10 11
SCR	Principal Lee improved **school community relations**: Parent organizations were enlarged; increased school recognition (e.g., test scores, Georgia School of Excellence); produced new brochure; met with real estate agents to "talk up" the school; school activities, e.g., graduation, reflected well on school					x		x		x		3 3
CASF	Principal Lee improved the within-school **communication with assistant principals, students and faculty**: faculty and student handbooks; well-run faculty meetings; faculty liason meetings; more receptive to reasoning from teachers, e.g., through Morale Committee	x	x x	x x	x	x		x	x		x	8 10
SP	Principal Lee improved **school pride** for students and faculty: School was clean; students recognized within school for achievement in all areas; a student dress code was implemented; faculty were recognized for outstanding contributions; school rallies for WHS achievement		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x x		6 9
II	Principal Lee **improved instruction**: by setting at least minimal standards for teacher performance through GTDRI documentation, e.g., teach full 55 minutes; discussing failure rates with teachers; a few teachers left voluntarily; unannounced observations the first three weeks of school		x	x			x	x x	x	x	x	6 8
PC	Principal Lee established a more **professional climate**: Administration, not parents now ran the school; teachers were expected to be on time and fulfill responsibilities. Sports less emphasized; teacher workroom equipment improved; he knew teacher classroom needs and got necessary materials; opporunities for teachers to attend conferences			x	x	x x		x	x x	x	x	7 9
Abc												
Abc	*T = totals # of respondents (10) total responses											

Table B-3

Nottingham High School: Teacher Perceptions of Principal School Improvements

Code	Category Descriptions and Examples	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	T*
SD	**Student discipline was established.** Instituted in-school suspension system; eliminated student smoking; suspended and expelled students on drug/alcohol violations, etc.; teachers were backed during parent conferences by principal; lunchroom rules; had rapport and was respected by students	x x x	x x		x		x			x		5 8
IPD	**Instructional Program Development.** Helped establish/improve academic programsx (e.g., advanced placement, Magnet School for Math and Science; Robotics and Engineering Program); Programs were designed to meet needs of underachievers and low-achievers	x	x									3 3
PAT	**Promoted student achievement tone.** Hired excellent teachers; student achievement improved; teaching improved (e.g., classroom observation in which notes re: suggestions for improvement placed in teachers' mailboxes; some teachers left voluntarily); made new department chair appointments	x x x	x x	x x	x x	x x	x x x		x	x	x x x	9 19
PRT	**Professional rapport with teachers.** Principal treated teachers as professionals; protected us from "downtown" demands on paperwork; excellent communicator so that teachers sensed ownership in school; principal hadknack for reaching poeple who could get the job done; principal would seek out certain teachers on a certain problem and bounce ideas off them; rarely interrupted classes with intercom; principal was open to new ideas and listened to teachers; backed teachers vs. angry parents; would carry his load	x	x x	x x x	x x	x x	x x x	x x x x	x x x	x	x x x	10 24
RWP	**Rapport with parents.** Only 1 of 4 principals to attend principal conferences; helped lead parents' night for ninth grade parents interested in their students attending college; worked closely with PTSA; parents perceived him as "warm and sincere;" kept community aware of NHS's achievements; open door policy	x	x	x		x x	x	x				6 7
RP	**Provides resources.** Teachers received backing for their ideas; he pushed "downtown" for resources; he was a "risk-taker" who would put himself on a limb for a program meeting student needs; he pushed to get the magnet program (1986); he would ac- teachers on field trips; sets goals with departments and worked with them				x	x x	x	x x	x	x x	x	7 10
IPP	**Improved Physical Plant.** Built baseball field, track, football practice field; air conditioning units in some parts of the building			x				x		x	x	4 4
Abc	*T = totals # of respondents (10) total responses											

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Table B-4

Carmichael High School: Teacher Perceptions of Principal School Improvements

Code	Category Descriptions and Examples	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	T*
CSS	Jackson had established a "**climate of success**" with **students**, primarily through individual and small group interactions with students. As a student advocate, students came first in the school and their academic achievement was paramount. He often demonstrated this category through personal example. He recognized and counseled with students and knew them personally. As a role model, he related well to students and through interactions identified student needs to be met by CHS.	X X				X		X	X X			4 6
PCII	This category describes Jackson's knack for visualizing new **programs, curriculum initiation and improvement** based on student needs. Partly because he was always open to new visions of teaching, he had a knack for plugging in resources including capable teachers in the right slot at the right time. Examples were the six curricula, counseling program, GAPP program, and teacher-student teams.	X	X	X	X	X X	X X X	X	X X X X	X	X	10 16
WWP	Jackson had a knack for **working with people**. The knack represented the "linch pin" between PCII and RP, He negotiated and "traded off well" with people and stayed accessible. He established effective communication primarily among parents, teachers, and "downtown." He hired good people, delegated well with clear expectations and knew when to stay out of people's way. He promoted staff morale by recognizing innovative teachers, helping teachers work better with students, and keeping the paperwork level and class size down. "He has promoted the school and this reflects on us."	X X X	X	X X	X X	X	X		X X	X X	X X X X	9 18
RP	Jackson was an ambitious and entrepreneurial **resource provider**. These qualities enabled him to obtain resources (money, staff development worksops) for programs.	X	X X	X	X			X	X X	X		7 9
BETS	Jackson set **basic expectations for teachers and students**. These included classroom teaching and behaviorial expectations for students (e. g., no drug use in schools). Teachers were expected to meet certain standards or they did not last. To help reinforce these expectations, he made some excellent personnel changes (e.g., counselors and department heads).			X		X	X				X	4 4
Abc	*T= totals # of respondents (10) total responses											

Appendix C
Contextual Data For Brown's Inner Realities

Mission, Strategies, Intentions.

Brown had been high school principal for 14 years in Lake City, a small town approximately 60 miles from Moore County. At Lake City he had a reputation for establishing a position and staying with it and for having an extremely clean and safe school. Brown thought he had gotten into a rut. Things had become very routine and he thought, "I'm here for life."

The Moore County superintendent had heard that Brown was doing an outstanding job in Lake City. He had offered Brown the position three times before Brown eventually accepted the position in 1983 with the superintendent's promise that he would be able to be his own boss and that the superintendent and the board would not meddle. Brown wanted the opportunity to shape a high school, partly because he had become bored at Lake County. This challenge became his **mission**. (Brown thought if things did not work out, he could always find another job.)

The Moore County superintendent hired him to bring law and order back to Moore County High School (MCHS)--as Brown had done at his previous high school. Since he had the backing of the superintendent, Brown was able to use administrative fiat to help make MCHS a safe and orderly school. He assigned teachers duties for corridors and parking lots, and he increased the instructional time. "One would have to have been an idiot to have any questions about what had to be done. There were kids all over the hall. There was no instructional time. I went about improving these things. I limited the use of the public address system. I got kids in class. We fought battles with the board. I decreased the amount of time between classes from five to three minutes and had some people complain that they did not have enough time to go to the bathroom. I even had a school board member here with a stopwatch because he had complaints in the community about what the principal was doing [regarding time between classes]."

"This management approach worked. For instance, one group of teachers in the parking lot during the first year said, 'It's sure nice to see students running to get to class.' As another example, the superintendent and I were walking the halls [after Brown had instituted some changes], when the superintendent just happened to glance through a classroom window and said, 'That's the first time I've seen Ed Smith actually teaching, and not just sitting at his desk.'"

Brown reflected that the first year at MCHS had been an extension of the unilateral management he had used at Lake City. He had always wanted to be close to the action in identifying problems and their solutions. He later perceived this management style as "heavy handed." Teacher committees were used, but they were advisory in function. For example, when Brown had requested but not followed the advice of the physical education director, the director was upset and asked him why his request had not been followed. Brown countered that he had sought other opinions and then made his decision.

Vision, Intentions, Strategies.

Brown mused, "Now what? Will I be here for the rest of my life? Can I rule by administrative fiat forever?" The administrative fiats used to make MCHS safe and orderly would not work with the more deep-seated problems of student apathy and low student outcomes.

Brown had asked for autonomy from the superintendent as a condition for his accepting this position. How then could he not expect some autonomy from the teachers? He realized that he had to involve his very bright, competent teachers in shaping a school in which they wanted to teach. By exchanging ideas people could develop a willingness to solve school problems. Teachers and administrators together could diagnose and prescribe what was best for the school and not have others do it for them. Medicine and law professionals sought their peers' help when needed. Could not educators do the same?

"People working together can identify a needs resolution, e.g., 'We've got to do something about this', and reach a consensus based on an understanding of differences in philosophical issues amongst teachers. We must have on the front end people working together in these two processes. Otherwise principals expend energy in fighting turf battles by defending positions and decisions," reasoned Brown during the interview.

Brown wanted to establish a process in which teachers would accommodate the change: a general framework that could accommodate different issues. Such a framework would prevent people from going in different directions because this same framework could be used for all issues. Important issues would be out in the open. He then started to develop a **vision** of a shared decision-making model at MCHS where teachers and administrators both would be responsible for decision making.

With the help of several professors from the nearby university, Brown and certain teachers implemented a SDM structure over the next six years. Given his vision, Brown's actions mainly comprised judicious decisions as teachers began sharing the responsibility with Brown for shared decision making. The first crucial decision occurred in 1984-85 when Brown supported the executive council smoking policy as equivalent to an administrative directive. Neither the smoking nor non-smoking groups was satisfied with the policy, but once the decision was made, the faculty had to accept it or SDM itself would never be accepted.

Second, by not interceding with the two floundering task forces in 1985-86, Brown sent the message that task forces were the responsibility of the participating teachers. He then facilitated the collaboration of the nearby university with these task forces, which then had more resources to draw on. The responsibility for decisions, however, remained with the task forces. Task force members now had a place to go with their problems, and it was not to the principal.

MCHS's success in getting a state education agency (SEA) waiver (1986-87) to offer the at-risk program represented another crucial juncture. Without this waiver the at-risk task force would not have been able to meet the needs of certain MCHS students and the task force members undoubtedly would have been dispirited. Brown was MCHS's spokesperson for influencing the SEA to provide this waiver. Fourth, the 1988 executive council's decision that each task force was to report on progress every thirty days to push task forces along was a landmark decision. This decision was not the principal's idea, but he did support it as an executive council member.

Fifth, in 1988-89 the dress code event resulted in more teachers fully participating in SDM. Up until this event the same (eight to ten) teachers seemed to be doing most of the work. Because the principal was out-voted regarding the dress code and did not try to pull principal's rank, there was now little reason for non-participating teachers to remain on the sidelines and remain skeptical about the SDM process.

Appendix D

Contextual Data For Lee's Inner Realities

Lee's Mission, Intentions, and Actions Taken.

Prior to his current position, Lee had assumed three high school administrative jobs in a midwestern state to get the experience required for a challenging, high quality principalship. He had learned to be decisive. (One ineffective administrator spent most of his time reacting to situations instead of making firm decisions, and the school experienced considerable student unrest.) Another principal (a mentor) taught him the importance of compromise and that often there were several ways to solve a problem. Another principal shared with Lee (then an assistant principal) how to deal with teacher evaluation requiring unpopular personnel decisions. From 1985 to 1987, Lee had been a principal in a small, Midwestern city. According to Lee, the superintendent had tried to give everyone what they wanted. Lee learned to understand his power base and build on it, and to stay away from other factions. ("You cannot take a whole loaf and split it up equally.") If law and order was needed, a principal could not give in to parents who did not want him to discipline their children. Otherwise a principal would antagonize the other faction that wanted law and order. A superintendent during this formative period taught him an invaluable maxim: You always have to do what is best for kids, and if you keep doing that you will stay out of trouble.

Lee defined his **mission** as he began his tenure at WHS: "I really wanted to go as far as we could with every student....I do not want to sacrifice academics for athletics; a good coach can be a good teacher. I also learned that we really had an obligation to do a good job for everyone, and that includes the 4% to 6% who are not college bound." I've always been successful at every level in schooling and I have great confidence in myself. I do not make decisions out of fear, i.e., make it solely on whom will a decision least affect adversely, but I make it in the best interest of the students."

In elaborating on his mission, Lee specified that "Everything I do fits into five slots: strong leadership (being willing to make decisive calls); constant evaluation and revamping as necessary; high expectations of students and staff; pleasant, but orderly, environment; and heavy emphasis on English and math skills. If you can't read well you are not going to be able to do social studies, and so forth. If you don't understand a gerund, you can't do foreign languages. If you don't have math skills, you can't do math and physics. I always assess weak areas and try to improve what we are doing." Lee summed up his mission-grounded intentions: 1) Not ask teachers to do anything that he would not do; and 2) make sure that teachers knew from the first day that things would be different at WHS. (He also knew by this time that he wanted to become a superintendent.)

"When I first arrived I wanted to assess the situation to make sure that the perceptions I had from the interviewing process were accurate. So I confirmed my own perceptions with those of the central office staff, administrative team in my own building, students, parents, and the local advisory team required by the county [which consisted of community people, parents, students, and teachers]. I also collected data on test scores for standardized achievement tests [Basic Skills Test, Test of Achievement Proficiency, and Advanced Placement], student referrals, teacher questionnaires passed out each year, the National Association of Secondary School Principals' (NASSP) climate questionnaire, and student attendance. Next, I identified those competent people among central office, the teachers, the administrative team, and parents with both a sense of assessment and a vision for improving the school.

In the summer of 1987, Lee had his assistant principal add rules for student discipline to the student handbook before it was printed. These rules were very consistent with specific procedures and consequences. The dress code was stricter. The school grounds would not be trashed; no food could leave the lunch room. Students could not wander around outside the school, etc. Lee made sure that all three administrators attended every football game and one administrator attended home basketball games. Previously, administrators had not attended the games and there were just police there. In the corridors, Lee made sure he had high visibility. He did not walk by kids doing something wrong and ignore them. Whenever an infraction occurred, he made the infraction clear to the students and metered out punishments consistently and fairly. "This hurt me with the students, especially the seniors, but it had to be done."

Lee realized that the assistant principal (AP) for student discipline was extremely competent, but needed to know exactly what to. The AP was not to stay in the office, but be out in the corridors anticipating problems before they happened, as opposed to dealing with problems after they occurred.

Lee set standards for acceptable classroom instruction, and enforced these standards. In the first year, one teacher was recommended for termination. Due to some confusion in the district office over this teacher's contract, however, the teacher returned for the 1988-89 year, but at a different school. In the second year (1988-89), Lee removed two more ineffective tenured teachers; they were teaching the subject matter, and not the students.

Lee's Vision, Intentions, and Actions Taken.

During the first year Lee realized that the ingredients were there for immediate school improvement: a (generally) well-trained faculty strong in the traditional college prep program, potentially ambitious students with high SES, and parents who wanted their children to attend our best public and private universities. The community expected a private school atmosphere within a public school. Some parents had sent their children to WHS when it had been considered a school of academic excellence in the early 1980s. Many parents wanted to once again send their children to WHS, but the school's reputation had declined and many parents (including a board member) within WHS's attendance zone had chosen to send their children to private schools.

Lee's **vision** was essentially a marketing goal: Lee had to convince parents that WHS could once again be a school of academic excellence and a school capable of competing with the nearby parochial and independent schools. "Affluent people want more than everyone else. That is why they bothered to become affluent to begin with. I gave them what they wanted and improved the school to meet their needs." To accomplish his marketing vision, Lee improved the school-community relations and improved communications.

He made sure all public performances were done "first class." For graduation and honors assemblies, he provided tablecloths, potted plants and steps to allow the students to come up to the stage to get their diplomas and awards, instead of handing them out to students while seated in the audience. During graduation he made sure that the rowdy students did not attend so that the ceremony was done well and was not farcical. He obtained a public address system for basketball games. He also solved vandalism problems by having all results of vandalism removed immediately. He offered a reward, caught and expelled those responsible. Since his first year, there had been only one case of vandalism.

Lee promoted student achievement out in the community. Students wrote newspaper articles about student achievement. He called students into his office to congratulate them for higher grades, etc. The quality of Honors Night was improved with awards on higher quality paper, nicer looking plaques and honor roll letters. He obtained bumper stickers and "We're Number One!" pins. He stressed this important issue to the community: "This is the best school in the state."

Finally, he promoted a positive attitude from teachers by congratulating them at faculty meetings, sending birthday cards to faculty members, and writing occasional notes to individual teachers. He instituted a Teacher of the Month Award. A committee of parents and one AP made these selections. One of these teachers last year received the Teacher of the Year award which included $500 from a large corporation which had a school/business partnership with WHS. Generally, Lee tried everything that could help the school's image.

To improve school-parent-student communication, Lee set up parents/principal discussion meetings. Eighty parents attended the first meeting. They wanted to size up the new principal's views on issues like the student dress codes. Over time, the numbers of parents attending dropped to four or five, and at the last meeting no parents attended.

He also established student/principal discussions in which students could sign up on a list to speak with Lee on any issue. Most of students' complaints were not about improving the school, but about personal issues, like eating outside and parking stickers.

Appendix E

Contextual Data for Burke's Inner Realities

Mission, Intentions and Actions Taken.

Burke had been approached about an assistant principal position by a district high school principal who had been the director of personnel in the central office and was influential district-wide. Burke accepted the position and for the next six years dealt basically with discipline matters as a traditional disciplinarian, always having to meter out punishment. During this time he developed an ulcer. He supervised students but was never really part of decision making in the school. Eventually, he realized that he was not growing professionally.

When a new principal, a superintendent's protege', entered the system, Burke had found his mentor. This principal was very ambitious and stayed two years before moving on to a new challenge. Through this mentor Burke learned how to handle people, how to get the superintendent's influence, and how to get what he wanted in his dealings with people. Burke also learned not to let friendships with faculty hinder some hard decisions. For example, he shared a fifth of liquor with a football coach whom he replaced the next day. Burke developed a reputation for being a "prejudiced white cracker," a misconception due to his role as disciplinarian.

In 1977 Burke became principal of a middle school. (He speculated that his mentor and the high school principal had hand-picked him.) Burke now grew professionally. Generally he did not find running the school difficult, but he did have to learn to deal with higher SES parents who had very set ideas about what they wanted from the school. Burke still had a mixed student SES, so he learned a lot about dealing with people from different backgrounds. During this tenure, he changed the school from a traditional discipline-oriented junior high to a student-centered middle school. He helped establish exploratory courses, set up the team approach in which teachers decided which subjects to teach, and built excellent band and choral programs. Already Burke was demonstrating his influence with people (gleaned from his mentor) in developing academic and extra-curricular programs. Burke summed up his people-oriented attitude: "Everyone has the right to feel good about our conversations. I don't have the right to tear you [teachers, students] down but there are certain things that I can't condone [and survive in my position]."

When Burke became principal at NHS his initial perception was that students ran the school. Because of an open lunchroom policy, students during the lunch hour would drive throughout the city. Students would walk out of the classrooms to smoke cigarettes. The racially-split faculty had separate lounges for black and white teachers. Burke reflected that his **mission** had been to make NHS a safe and good enough school to send his own children there. He identified his intentions as: 1) surviving and getting the school under control; 2) dealing with a lack of professionalism among certain teachers; and 3) solving the racial split among the faculty.

Yet long-ranged, Burke was faced with a dilemma. How could he combine his "Southern cracker" sense of discipline (used at the Jr. High) with his need to encourage growth and responsibility both in himself and in his faculty?

He first dealt unilaterally with personnel matters; faculty then could concentrate on their teaching. He hired a data clerk and reorganized the master schedule to equalize class and teaching loads to differentiate administrative and teacher roles. (Previously, some teachers had been handling both bookkeeping and scheduling responsibilities.) Before teachers got to know him, he unilaterally appointed two or three new department heads to break up some of the existing power cliques. He then closed the two faculty lounges and opened up one new workroom and one lounge to help alleviate the faculty racial split.

Burke also had to bring the students under control. This intention often led to physical confrontation, including at least four physical fights. Two students even tried to run over him with their cars. The joke around the school during Burke's first two years was that he spent most of his time in court for hearings on drug and alcohol consumption in the school (fifteen students arrested for violations of the law during the first year). Through student informants and his own and teacher observation, he expelled thirteen students from school and turned them in to the authorities. He also brought criminal charges against students trespassing on school property.

Burke's student discipline techniques did not include paddling, since his past experience as an assistant principal had indicated that corporal punishment did not work well. He set specific rules, however, for students. He closed the open campus policy during lunch and restricted student smoking to certain zones and four years later eliminated smoking from the grounds entirely. He instituted an in-house suspension program and hired effective teachers for it. In countless conferences with parents, Burke communicated that if the parents were willing to take responsibility for their child's discipline, the school would allow the child to come back. By monitoring data on student attendance, suspension, retention and failure, he identified black males as the most likely to drop out and be suspended. The results of Burke's efforts in this area brought attendance up five percent and decreased failure and retention rates.

From 1982 to 1985, Burke involved the community in helping with physical plant improvements. With the assistance of a football coach, a track and football practice field were built. Workers were past school associates and friends who had various construction-type businesses. Burke knew these people because he was a citizen of the community. Along with the baseball coach and other community workers, he began to build a baseball field in 1986. This project served as a focal point for the community to donate and install a sprinkler system and plant the grass.

Vision, Intentions, and Actions Taken.

Burke had wanted to rebuild the curriculum and make it an excellent college preparatory school --much as it had been before the court desegregation mandate. The more ambitious and academically aggressive children would transfer from private schools, including religiously-affiliated schools established in the 1970s, to NHS. These students, and their parents, would pressure the administrators and teachers in various ways to improve the curriculum (Burke's **vision**).

With this vision in mind, Burke exploited a local board decision. When the board mandated the math and science magnet program in the mid 1980s, Burke leaped at the opportunity. He used his considerable political connections and badgered "downtown" to locate this program at NHS. What he had hoped for happened. Parents began to perceive NHS once again as a viable college preparatory school and an option to private schools. The more ambitious and intellectually aggressive children who had transferred from private schools to NHS pushed the curriculum and the teachers.

"We received an influx of approximately 200 students from private schools due to our new academic offerings and due to money becoming a problem. For instance, with the rising cost of tuition in both public and private colleges, parents started asking whether it was worth it to send their children to independent schools. The 1987 stock market crash perhaps precipitated this reconsideration of priorities.. We started getting a vast improvement in student achievement and now had to run hard to keep up with the kids. Consequently, we started setting new courses and new programs in place. Examples were the select math program (at that time called a math and science program with NHS being an informal 'magnet school'); new courses in the physical education department; a solid computer program with teacher training; an advanced placement program; a high class band program; an honor society; and a governor's program. Basically we enhanced things for our various publics and things started taking off."

Given his vision for NHS's academic renewal, Burke's intentions included involving teachers as program experts and establishing an open marketplace environment for entrepreneurial program development at NHS with Burke as its coordinator. "We involved specific faculty members in some of these programs. One faculty person was in charge of the advanced placement courses. Another was a resource teacher for some of our brighter students, and coordinated activities like quiz bowls and the governor's honor programs. In general, we've gotten the faculty involved in pushing kids now that this expectation has become institutionalized. The students were confident that they could attend top-rate public universities or certain private colleges. These inspirations were not restricted necessarily to certain socioeconomic groups."

Previously, if there had not been enough student enrollment for advanced courses such as calculus or physics, these courses were not offered. Burke and teachers made a commitment to offer these courses, even if only one student attended. Attendance in these advanced courses snowballed, as middle-to-upper middle class students entered the school. Burke hired faculty to teach specific advanced placement (AP) courses. Teachers were trained in AP courses in the mid 1980s during two-week workshops in the summer. Burke appointed one of his teachers AP coordinator for these courses. Advanced placement courses in junior and senior English, calculus, Pascal (a computer language), biology, chemistry, European History, and U. S. History were developed. Other curricula, such as the math and science program, were also developed.

"Generally, we wanted to enlarge the choices of colleges that went beyond our state borders. We needed to instill confidence in our kids that they were certainly capable of obtaining the goal of going to an out-of-state college." "We put together a program that would identify the kids who wanted to attend college or who had the potential to attend college. Our teachers identified these students. We invited the students and their parents to a parent's night for *ninth grade* students [italics added]." At this parent's night (in which Burke continued to participate at the time of this study), school personnel explained the process of getting into a good college to the parents and students. Instructions on the process included how to write a resume', how to write a letter showing interest in a particular college, when to take the PSAT or SAT, how to prepare for these tests, and so forth. A guidance counselor talked to seniors every year in their English classes at the beginning of the year and specified what had to be done and by what dates for college applications.

"We have kids visit college campuses. We happened to be in a nearby major city for the robotics and engineering program and we had some of our kids visit some college campuses there. Some of our kids have never been on a college campus before so we were already whetting their appetites. We got kids involved in the governor's honors program in which students can study in their area of interest for eight weeks in the summer at a local college."

"We also have an academic honors recognition program in which all academic achievement is recognized. We had a banquet during this program, paid for by the National Honor Society, and last year we awarded $700,000 in academic scholarships. Additionally, any chance we have, we talk up our tests scores and achievements. This is done at parent meetings of any kind, and even at the athletic boosters club, so folks know that academics are particularly important."

Burke demonstrated an uncanny sense of vision and appeared always to be a few steps ahead of district and NHS personnel in knowing where to lead NHS and what the consequences would be for each developmental stage. While this study was being conducted, Burke and some of the teachers were planning academic programs for the growing inner-city at-risk students at NHS. "Most of these students realize that the high school diploma provides a richer experience and more skills than the general education diploma (GED). But when students arrive in high school two or three years behind, it is very difficult for them to get their high school diploma because they are not with their peers. They do not go through the stages of [normal] fourteen and fifteen year-old freshmen and sophomores, because these kids were still back in middle school. We are considering expanding our OPT program to have our students go for the GED and not the high school diploma. We project the students to be at school half the time learning basic skills, and half of the time be on the job training at auto body shops, drafting offices, and so forth, and not just flipping hamburgers in the service sector. Our guidance counselor in ninth and tenth grades has been identifying our at-risk kids. Our philosophy here is to get them into classes in which they can succeed and get through ninth grade. If we can get them through ninth grade, we believe they can make it."

Appendix F
Contextual Data for Jackson's Inner Realities

Jackson's Mission, Intentions, and Actions Taken.

Jackson's **mission** was a product of the social revolution of the 1960s, including the civil rights movement and integration in the South. Jackson believed that he could make a difference in the lives of students both as a role model and as an advocate for due process. ("The minute I feel I can't do that, I'll offer my resignation.") Context, claimed Jackson, had little effect on his actions. What mattered was how he worked differently with individual students. He did not make a single decision that was not in the interest of his students or their performance.

His background and professional biography demonstrated a rise toward administration and a gravitation toward working with minority students. His high school counselor mentor helped him get his first education position teaching reading and geography in a rural school for a half a year. After receiving his masters degree in special education, he taught in elementary school in a large urban system for a year, worked in Appalachia as a community outreach worker for nine months, and taught special education in a large, urban high school for two years.

In 1972 Jackson received his first administrative job, an assistant director of a special education center. He became an assistant principal of an elementary school in the same large, urban system for three years, and then principal in 1975. This school was attended by 1,100 students, although built for 350. The student body was all black, except for his daughter.

Jackson considered himself as being from the old school. His father had worked his way up from the assembly line to become a quality control engineer of a major corporation. His mother had been a homemaker, but had worked at odd jobs when his family needed money. Jackson considered himself thick-skinned, self-confident, and not needing to be stroked. Mediocrity was despicable. He planned to strive for excellence and expected a commensurate effort from faculty and students.

He had suffered from making mistakes, but considered them a luxury because one can learn from them. ("I don't tend to make the same mistake twice.") By accepting responsibility and making decisions, Jackson always could apologize and learn from his mistakes. This was preferable to not having made a decision. His experience made him wiser and further convinced him that he should not dodge responsibilities.

During his first year Jackson clarified to staff, parents, and students that he was not a lawyer, police, judge, social worker, physician, surgeon, or parent to children other than his own. Educators could only be held responsible for instruction even when other services were needed. Educators could serve, at best, as a referral agency. Implementing change had to be in the context of a competent educator who would not dilute his or her effectiveness by purporting to solve all the "other" problems dumped on them. (According to Jackson's perspective, he also was defining, in effect, CHS's institutional mission.)

When he first took the CHS position there had been no principal for six months. During this phase Jackson got the school under control by taking two actions. First, he spent the first three days walking around the building and getting kids into class on time and out of the hallways. Second, he used the yearbook to memorize staff names. He met with every faculty and staff member, including custodians, to ask them about their needs. During these meetings, he tried to answer any immediate concerns. If teachers needed chalk and other materials, he provided them. Jackson also sought out long-term problems that might be symptoms of the system problems.

Too many parents, according to Jackson, intervened on behalf of their children to keep them from accepting the consequences of inappropriate behavior. Facing the consequences of such behavior was necessary before any positive change could occur. Jackson set the norm that "arbitrary criteria", e.g., power, wealth, and race, would not be permitted to influence the administration of consequences. This belief grounded in Jackson's biography, led to two actions.

First, Jackson realized in June 1978 that he had to change the basic curriculum philosophy left over from, what he called, the "student permissiveness of the 1970s. "Students, instead of the teacher advisor, often chose their schedules and curriculum was not differentiated. Some students scheduled only the easy courses just to get by. During the 1978-79 year, Jackson established himself as manager of the master schedule, instead of letting the students manage it themselves. In 1979-80, Jackson used a needs assessment instrument (see below) to establish five curricula strands: college prep I (oriented to Ivy League acceptance), college prep II (for state universities), general curriculum, performing arts college I, and performing arts non-college II. Students could pick any strand, but they had to stay with it unless parents gave permission to change. This involved the parents in any changes made, and increased the academic course offerings.

Second, he modeled for the first two years the behaviors that he expected from others. He established due process for students; assistant principals, teachers, and parents, all of whom had to understand that receiving the rights of due process was conditioned on accepting responsibility, were influenced by this process. (For instance, before Jackson's tenure, the two assistant principals had accepted the teachers' perspective on discipline matters without investigating the student's perspective.) Jackson implemented his notion of due process with the expectations and consequences model, which was predicated on the assumption that clearly understood expectations must precede change. Just as Jackson believed he had to learn from his own mistakes, he had the same expectation philosophically and operationally in his dealings with students and faculty.

An example of a use of the expectation-and-consequence model follows. As mentioned above, there had been a student tardiness problem. Jackson appointed a committee to clearly define what tardiness meant. The committee's definition was then put into a handbook and teachers were asked to teach from this handbook during homeroom period. A different committee then spelled out the consequences for tardiness. This committee met for approximately a year to make sure the resulting consequences were not capricious or arbitrary. The consequences were continually monitored for fairness and to be sure that teachers were applying them consistently.

Clearing up the drug problem on school grounds motivated a group of dedicated parents to address the off-campus drug problem. They formed parent-peer groups and held community meetings with law enforcement officers, judges, clergy members and physicians. Efforts were made to make the different agencies aware of each other and of the parents' willingness to help. Parents worked directly with the medical community, the mayor's office, and the chief of police to clean up local concert music halls where drugs commonly were used.

Jackson used a needs assessment model to identify breakdowns in CHS's curriculum. Jackson said, "We're constantly evaluating the needs of the students and making sure that we've adjusted accordingly." This needs assessment was implemented in different ways to match different situations. Consequently, there was an interplay between what the school offered to students and students' needs. In 1979-80, for instance, Jackson and a teacher committee using the needs assessment model established five different curricula standards.

He established liaison groups of students chaired by teachers (trained in this process by CHS counselors) to diminish the growing distance between students and teachers (caused by the changing demographics). He helped develop programs for self-defense for girls, and counseling for date rape and peer pressure. Whether Jackson intervened personally or used a committee, constant themes to both his models were: Does he or she understand the consequences of his/her actions? What are the particular student needs? How can we provide programs to meet these needs?

During this "control phase," Jackson described his management as essentially autocratic with input from as many people as possible. His intentions related basically to processes through which students, parents, and teachers would all take responsibility for their actions. Jackson had to galvanize his constituents into accepting specific consequences for their actions and devise ways to meet student needs. Most of the problems were observable, e.g., students were late to class and to school.

Jackson's Vision, Intentions, Actions Taken.

By 1980 Jackson perceived that CHS was under control. Suspensions, expulsions, class cutting was down significantly. Instructional time had increased because an academic tone had been instituted. Jackson had gained some credibility. Students, teachers and staff knew what to expect, e.g., dealing with Jackson only as a last resort.

Twice a year he continued to meet one-on-one with every staff member, including custodians, both to fill any immediate needs and to look for common patterns that needed to be addressed. Basically he was fine-tuning the management system he had developed to get control of the school. In retrospect, Jackson saw himself gradually becoming more of an appeals judge and a supervisor of supervisors as opposed to a direct, hands-on manager.

As CHS began accepting students from less advantageous backgrounds during the mid 1980s, Jackson realized that high school might be a best opportunity for students to learn the lessons of life. High school was becoming the last chance for many of his students (his **vision**). Students graduating from CHS with a job or college acceptance became his personal goal.

Jackson's intentions now included encouraging more perspectives and suggestions from CHS's professionals and personally spending more time counseling students either alone or in small groups. Jackson's actions taken became more consensual than autocratic or participatory, because he realized that, with the demographic change at CHS, he needed more perspectives and suggestions. Jackson doubled the membership of the management team by including some teachers, counselors, the head custodian, and the Parent-Teacher-Student Association president. He also made clear that students could make presentations to this management team.

According to Jackson, approximately ninety-five percent of the decisions were made by consensus. Jackson was autocratic only when he could not support the group consensus with the superintendent. Jackson concluded that his actions comprised a mix of consensus building and unilateral situational decision making. Jackson now claimed that he functioned largely as a "resource switchboard." When presented with a problem, he knew which faculty might be good at working with a particular problem. Sometimes he first needed to conceptualize a blueprint-for-action. When he revamped the counseling program, for instance, Jackson shopped around, obtained the appropriate consultants to conceptualize programmatic needs, and then hired a head counselor

One example of Jackson's consensus style was his handling of the budget. At annual budget time, Jackson sat down with his department heads and other members of the inner council. When he returned, they had divided up 90% of the budget, leaving only the remaining 10% for Jackson to negotiate. The annual accounting indicated department receipts and expenditures, so the team could compensate those who had to give in the previous year.

As an example (observed by the researcher) of Jackson's counseling efforts, an assistant principal had recommended that a twelfth grader be suspended from school. This suspension would have resulted in the student not graduating that Spring. When Jackson met with James, a black student who had earned eleven detentions, and his mother, Jackson tried to get James to understand that he would have to take responsibility for his own graduation. At the end of the meeting, Jackson had negotiated with the student, along with the mother's agreement, that James would attend all eleven detentions, read three books relating to what it is like to be a young, black male in American society, and report back to Jackson in one week. Finally, Jackson encouraged James to get extra help in subjects he was currently failing and needed to pass to graduate in two months. It was still up to James whether he graduated or not. (Other observations of Jackson's counseling with students are included in the study report.)

Yet, when necessary, Jackson could be unilateral. Jackson, for instance, became disenchanted with his three-member counseling team. They had remained too "stand-offish," at a time when the second wave of students required more proactive counselors not threatened by confidential information. He wrote the three counselors a memorandum in which he identified fifteen specific points gleaned from parent, teacher, and student suggestions, and defined a clear plan to follow in revamping the program. One counselor transferred and was replaced with a dynamic counselor hired because she was in agreement with Jackson philosophically. Within a year, a second counselor retired and, finally, the third offered his/her resignation.